F
689
.WIC42

THE WAKEFIELD COLONY

WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN

Class F689

Book .W1C4-2

PRESENTED BY

The Wakefield Colony.

A Contribution to the Local History of Kansas.

By WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, Ph. D.,
(Univ. Halle, 1904.)
Member of the Kansas Sate Historical Society.

Reprinted from Volume 10 of the Kansas Historical Collections.

STATE PRINTING OFFICE,
TOPEKA, 1908.
2420

F689
.W1C42

To the Old Settlers of
Wakefield and the surrounding country
this narrative
is dedicated in heartfelt appreciation
of the interest
they have taken in the author's efforts
to recover the
History of Pioneer Days.

W. J. C.

NOTE.

The material contained in the following narrative was, for the most part, collected during the autumn and winter of 1905. An article on the English settlement at Victoria, Ellis county, from the pen of Mr. R. T. Batchelor, which appeared in the Wakefield *Advertiser* January 21, 1898, first suggested the idea of a history of the beginnings of Wakefield. In the year 1899 the writer corresponded with several of the older residents of the town, but was not successful in getting them to record the story of pioneer days. In consequence the plan was laid aside for three or four years. The history in its present form does not claim to be exhaustive, although every care has been taken to render it accurate. (October 26, 1906.)

This account of the Wakefield colony was first published serially in the Clay Center *Times* in 1907, and then reprinted as a pamphlet. (Clay Center, Kan., 1907.) So much new material has come to light during the year 1907 that I have found it desirable to revise the "History of Wakefield" throughout, and to incorporate the additional facts in the body of the narrative. W. J. C.

Hosmer Hall, Hartford, Conn., March 12, 1908.

THE WAKEFIELD COLONY.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LOCAL HISTORY OF KANSAS.

By WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN,[1]

Ph. D. (University of Halle, 1904),
and member of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The English settlement at Wakefield, Clay county, was one of four European colonies that came out to Kansas nearly forty years ago. The following pages recount the story of its beginnings. Doubtless fuller information might be gleaned by one who had time to devote to the task. The writer has had access to the following sources of information:

1. Addresses delivered by Mr. J. B. Quimby, Doctor Burt, and Rev. Richard Wake, at the Old Settlers' Reunion, October 10, 1894. The two first named addresses appeared in the Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894. Rev. Mr. Wake's address was published in the same paper November 8, 1894.

2. The Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871. (By the courtesy of Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk.)

3. Miscellaneous printed matter, including a copy of the *Star of Empire* (now unfortunately lost).

4. Three maps belonging to Mr. J. P. Marshall, of the Wakefield Coöperative Association. The earliest of these is entitled "A Map of Junction City, Kansas, and Adjacent Country," page 46. It shows the area of settlement shortly before the coming of the English colony. The other two

two was made in the year 1874, and has been invaluable in determining the location of the settlers and in furnishing clues in the search for oral information.

are maps of Wakefield and vicinity, pages 50 and 51. The earlier of the

5. The Plat-book maps. These are contained in a subscription work entitled "An Historical Plat-book of Clay County," published by the Bird & Mickle Map Company, Chicago, Ill., 1881.

NOTE 1.—WILLIAM JOHN CHAPMAN was born at Stoke-sub-Hamden, near Montacute, Somerset, England, on November 15, 1869. His early childhood was spent at Wakefield, Kan. His parents returned to England in the autumn of 1874, where he received his education at boarding-school and by private tuition between the years 1875 and 1884. He came back to Kansas with his parents in 1884 and lived on the old homestead, in the vicinity of Wakefield, for eight years. After a course of preparatory study, he was licensed to preach in the Congregational denomination by a council which met at Wakefield on November 26, 1894. He was acting pastor at Wakefield from February, 1895, till September, 1896, and at the Congregational church, Nickerson, Reno county, 1898–'99. In 1897–'98 and in 1899–1901 he studied at Chicago Theological Seminary, and upon his graduation received the E. W. Blatchford fellowship for two years (1902–'03). On the expiration of the fellowship, he remained abroad for an additional year of post-graduate study under Prof. Alois Riehl, of Halle, and in December, 1904, received from the University the degree of Ph. D. *cum laude*. He has written on the following subjects: "The Geography of History" (Great Bend, 1894); "The Religion of the Dakota Indians" (Baccalaureate Dissertation, Chicago, 1901); "Die Teleologie Kants" (Halle, Germany, 1904). In 1906 he compiled the bibliography to the Gould Prize Essays, "Roman Catholic and Protestant Bibles Compared," (New York, Scribner's, 1908), edited by Prof. M. W. Jacobus, of Hartford Theological Seminary. More recently he has assisted Prof. E. C. Richardson, of Princeton University, in the production of "An Alphabetical Subject Index and Index Encyclopedia to Periodical Articles on Religion."

For the use of much of the printed material my especial thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Lumb, of Wakefield.

Official Records.—It is a matter of great regret that none of the official records of the Wakefield Colony have been available. In a letter addressed to the writer and dated Salt Lake City, February 1, 1899, Rev. Richard Wake says: "The records of the company were retained by Mr. Maitland when he removed to Washington, and I presume were destroyed in the great Seattle fire which consumed his property a number of years ago."

Oral Information.—Information has been gathered from all the old settlers with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing, but especially from the following persons: Messrs. William Guy, John Chapman, R. T. Batchelor, J. P. Marshall, H. S. Walter, T. C. Roscoe, E. R. Hawes, E. Eustace, T. Beldham, H. W. C. Budden, Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk and Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Lumb. For additional particulars I am indebted to Messrs. Wm. Seal and A. R. Goffin, and also to the Rev. R. O. Mackintosh, rector of St. George's church, for his kindness in securing information concerning the English settlers in Union township. In addition to the persons above named, I desire to thank Rev. Richard Wake, of Los Angeles, Cal., for several important corrections, and likewise to express my indebtedness to the secretary and department of archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, as well as the librarians of the State Library and the Library of the Connecticut State Historical Society.

I.—REPUBLICAN TOWNSHIP BEFORE THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

THE earliest American settlers in this neighborhood came in the years 1856 and 1857. In April of the former year Moses, William and Jeremiah Younkins and John P. King, from Somerset county, Pennsylvania, settled on Timber creek, in what is now Grant township. The following year, 1857, was marked by the coming of the first New England settlers, when Messrs. J. B. Quimby and W. E. Payne settled in the southeast part of Republican township. Persons belonging to the Pennsylvania colony say that the population of Somerset county was of mixed origin, containing both Scotch-Irish and Pennsylvania Dutch elements.[3] They believe the date of settlement to go back to the close of the colonial period. The New England settlers were colonial Americans of English descent. In the autumn of 1857 came another group of settlers. Lorenzo Gates, John Gill, and William Mall located higher up the river, where the names of Gatesville and Mall Creek commemorate them. The Mall family were natives of Baden, in South Germany.[4] In 1858 the New England colony was reenforced by the coming of Rev. Wm. Todd, formerly a missionary at Madura in southern India. The first actual settler on the site of Wakefield was James Gilbert, who came in 1858.

NOTE 3.—S. S. Gaston, J. Faidley. Somerset county, Pennsylvania, "is composed of a high and rather level table-land between the great Alleghany mountains and Laurel hill. It abounds in what are called glades — level wet lands about the head waters of the numerous streams that rise in the county. The climate of this elevated region is too cold and the summers too short for raising corn, and the land is generally too wet for wheat. Oats, rye, hay and potatoes are the principal crops. The glades, when properly managed, form productive dairy farms. The well-known glades butter bears the palm in Baltimore and Washington."— (Hist. Coll. of the State of Pennsylvania, Phila., 1843, pp. 615, 616.)

NOTE 4.—Plat-book, pp. 23, 89; Cutler's History of Kansas, 1883, p. 1312.

"In the summer of 1858 James Gilbert and family took up their residence there (*i. e.*, the 'eighty' south of Wakefield), he filing on it. He made rapid progress in improvements, and in many respects was a model pioneer. They remained about two years, and during that time built a larger and better house a few rods north* of the present site of Wakefield, which was occupied by them in 1859, making them the first settlers actually living in what is now Wakefield. In the spring of 1860 he very suddenly left the country and his family soon followed."[5]

The earliest settlements were determined exclusively by natural conditions. Of these the most important were the presence of wood and water, and the possibility of defense against Indians or outlaws. None of these conditions were to be found upon the high prairie. Along the banks of the river there were very few trees and only at the opening of the creek valleys was there a fairly dense growth of timber. For this reason the high prairies and the open river valley long remained unoccupied, but wherever a large creek flowed into the river there one would find the cabin of a settler or, if conditions favored it, the homes of a group of settlers. To this fact we owe many of our older place names. Thus Quimby creek, Mall creek, and Caine's creek preserve the names of their pioneer settlers. Milford grew up in the Bachelor creek neighborhood, and if the little stream which bounds Wakefield on the south had been sufficiently important as a landmark it would doubtless have been called Gilbert's creek.

The settlers, few as they were, were much depleted by the troublous times of the civil war.

"In 1860 there were eleven families in the Quimby neighborhood. In 1863 J. B. Quimby and Ed Kirby were the only men left there. John Butler, Lorenzo Gates and Jacob Mall were the only ones left on Mall creek."[6]

In a very real sense Kansas formed a part of the seat of war, being on the one side exposed to the attacks of guerrillas from Missouri, and on the other to the depredations of the plains Indians.[7] In every community all the men who could be spared bore arms. Fort Riley was the military headquarters. Henry Avery, of this city, recollects having been on picket duty near the ruins of the old Pawnee state-house when the news of the burning of Lawrence, August 21, 1863, came to the frontier settlements. The Indians continued to be a source of danger for several years after the close of the civil war. The battle of Arickaree,[8] sometimes called the battle of Beecher's Island, was fought September 17 to 19, 1868, just a year before the coming of the English settlers. At a later time one of the Wakefield colonists fell in Custer's last battle on the Little Big Horn.

NOTE 5.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894, address by J. B. Quimby, October 10, 1894.

NOTE 6.—Plat-book, p. 15.

NOTE 7.—"The next object of interest called to our attention," says Mr. R. T. Batchelor, in his account of Victoria, Ellis county, "was Union Pacific cemetery, just west of town and on the right of way, containing about twelve graves. The plot of ground is neatly and substantially fenced, and kept in excellent rapair by the railway company. There are seven graves in a row, with a rough undressed stone at the head and foot of each. On one is carved the words 'In Memory' and the commencement of another letter; the others are unmarked, excepting the foot of the south grave, which is roughly inscribed as follows: 'In Memory of Hry McDonney of Cambridge, Mass., and five others, to me unknown for their memory. Ive carved this stone. Killed by Indians in the year 1864. Dock Williams, carver.'"—(Wakefield *Advertiser*, January 21, 1898.)

NOTE 8.—The Battle of Arickaree, by Winfield Freeman, Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 6, pp. 346-357; Hugh O'Neill, in the Kansas City *Star*, November 29, 1905.

* This passage should read:
'a few rods north — on the present site of Wakefield,' etc.
It was corrected on the proof sheet, but apparently the printer was bound to create a situation logically absurd and topographically impossible. W. J. Chapman.

Doctor Burt, who came to Kansas in the spring of 1868, has thus described the area of settlement:

"In coming from Bachelor,* now Milford, the first house after leaving Mr. Hopkins's, this side of the river, was Mr. Quimby's log cabin, then Mr. Todd's stone house, then an old-fashioned log cabin where Mr. Payne's house now stands, then a log house in what is now Wakefield. . . . The next house to the north was, I think, Harvey Ramsey's, and the next ones were in the Avery district, which seemed well on toward Clay Center. . . . There was a cabin at the river where Mr. Manuel now lives, then occupied by Mr. North, of pleasant memories (we used to hunt wild turkeys from there). To the west Mr. Kirby's, also of logs, was, I think, the only house between us and Chapman creek—we had to go half way to Junction City before finding a house. The first public improvement I heard of after I came was to finish schoolhouse No. 8, so it could be used as a meeting-house."[9]

The following gives an estimate of the unoccupied area:

"In January, 1870, there were no houses between Clay Center and Fancy creek, between Clay Center and Chapman creek, nor between the head of Chapman creek and Wakefield."[10]

The accuracy of this statement has been called in question, but perhaps it may be interpreted to mean that before the coming of the English settlers in 1869–'70 the high prairies of Clay county remained for the most part unoccupied.

II.—THE ORIGIN OF THE KANSAS LAND AND EMIGRATION COMPANY.

The Rev. Richard Wake,[11] to whom the first impulse toward the formation of an English colony in this neighborhood was due, came to the United States in 1854, settling at first near New York. In 1860 he removed to Illinois. Soon after the close of the civil war he began to advocate through the English press the advantages of colonization on the western prairies. Two parties of Englishmen were in this way settled in the vicinity of Lincoln, Neb. Mr. Wake subsequently returned to Illinois, and, as he tells us, did not anticipate further experience in colonization.[12] At least three separate factors may be traced in the formation of the "company" that colonized Wakefield. Mr. R. H. Drew was a land-agent in London, and Mr. Wake was also widely known in Great Britain through his advocacy of the prairie states as a field for immigration. At the same time Mr. John Wormald, of

* The act incorporating the town of "Bachelder" is contained in the Private Laws of Kansas Territory, for 1858, p. 303; Bradley E. Fullington, Samuel D. Houston, Moses Younken, Abraham Barry and Martin F. Conway, incorporators.

NOTE 9.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 29, 1894.

NOTE 10.—Plat-book, pp. 15, 16.

NOTE 11.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 12.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894: We quote from Rev. Richard Wake (Los Angeles, Cal., December 18, 1907): "Leaving England at a time of great business depression, I was requested by a number of friends to report on conditions here, with a view to encouraging emigration from England. Settling near New York, I found things not sufficiently in advance of England to advise removal to the states. In 1860 I removed to Illinois, and on its wide and fertile prairies saw opportunities full of promise to the industrious working man—and especially to the small farmer of England. But while I was collecting facts the civil war broke out. By the time the war closed the price of Illinois land had taken it out of reach of the class I had in view. I then visited Iowa and eastern Nebraska, reporting the result of my investigation to the *Christian World*, of London, and also writing a pamphlet on the subject. In 1866 I visited England and brought out a small colony to settle on government land in Otoe county, Nebraska. I had no intention of proceeding further in emigration movements, but later R. H. Drew, of London, who had been directing migration to Australia, wrote, urging me to aid him and others in promoting emigration to the West. Though unwilling to further turn aside from my work in the ministry, I yielded, and the Wakefield settlement resulted."

Wakefield, Yorkshire, was anticipating the formation of an English settlement in northern Missouri.[13] By what chain of circumstances these gentlemen were led to merge their respective purposes in a single plan the writer confesses himself uninformed. Those of their number who were in England seem to have realized the advisability of enlisting the services of Mr. Wake, and, with this in view, to have opened correspondence with him.[14] The correspondence at first took the form of a request for information concerning government lands in Kansas and Nebraska.[15] How the first inquiries developed into a colonial enterprise may best be told in Mr. Wake's own words:

"Later a scheme was proposed for the purchase of a large tract of land for coöperative farming, and, asking my advice on the merits of the scheme generally, I discouraged the coöperative feature of the plan, but was in favor of associative immigration on a plan which would give to each settler individual ownership of land and absolute control of the products of his own labor, and proposed the plan, adopted later, of the purchase of a large tract of land by a few, who should sell it again in quantities to suit, at a slight advance over cost, to first settlers, depending upon later sales for profit on the investment. Late in June, 1869, I received a cablegram saying, 'Select 100,000 acres in Kansas for colony,' and on the 8th of July I arrived in Topeka on that errand. I inspected a certain reservation which had come into the hands of the Santa Fe company, but the price was too high. I came west to Junction City with a letter of introduction to Capt. A. C. Pierce. July 12 we took a team to view the land lying between the Republican river and Chapman creek, taking the divide west of Junction City and following it to the head of Chapman creek. We saw but one house between the two points. The year 1869 was a fruitful one. Grass in the ravines would meet above the backs of the horses, and on the high land was knee high or more. Reaching on our return the present site of Wakefield, I thought, as I looked down the valley, I had never seen a more beautiful landscape.

"Securing the withdrawal of the land from the market, I reported to London, and in August Messrs. Wormald, Maitland, Batchelor and others arrived. Messrs. Wormald and Maitland being empowered to purchase the land if it met their approval."[16]

The purchase of the land was ratified by Messrs. Wormald and Maitland and steps were immediately taken to organize the colony. The land that was purchased is thus described by Mr. Quimby.[17] "Their tract of land consisted of the odd sections in the vicinity of Wakefield and held by the Union Pacific railroad, from whom they purchased it." On the same subject, Mr. Wake says: "Contracts were made with the Kansas Railroad Company and the National Land Company for 32,000 acres at a cost of $102,000, one-fifth being paid down at the time of purchase."[18]

The following list of the pioneers of Wakefield was furnished by Mr. R. T. Batchelor:

"The pioneer party, consisting of Messrs. Wormald, Maitland and others, sailed from England on the steamship Main (North German Lloyd) on August 3, 1869, and arrived in New York the 13th, reaching Junction City about the 21st of the month. The party included Mr. John Wormald, of

NOTE 13.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 14.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 15.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 16.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 17.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894.

NOTE 18.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

Wakefield, Yorkshire; Mr. Alexander Maitland, of London, afterwards secretary of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company and one of the directors of the colony; Mr. Spence, the agricultural director of the proposed coöperative colony; Mr. R. T. Batchelor, Mrs. R. T. Batchelor and two children, of Fareham, Hampshire; Mr. Martin; Mr. Stone, who afterwards removed to Topeka; Mr. James Gibbons, the first proprietor of the "eighty" adjoining Wakefield on the southwest, known as the Allaway farm."

Another member of the party was Mr. James Marshall, of New Alresford, Hampshire. He was the first business man in the town, having put up a carpenter's shop on the lots afterwards owned by Mr. Thomas, corner of E street and Second avenue. He likewise made the first filing on the land subsequently owned by my father, and, in partnership with James Woodward, erected many of the earliest buildings in Wakefield and vicinity.[19]

August 25, 1869, the founders of the colony were incorporated as the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, and on the following day the town site was formally laid out. A cairn of stones was raised on the slope of Cedar Bluff and in it was deposited a parchment certifying the founding of the town and naming the parties therein concerned.[20] The cairn stood near the present site of Doctor Hewitt's residence.[21] The plat-book makes the following statement about the beginnings of Wakefield:

"The town was laid out by the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, consisting of Richard Wake, John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, Colonel Loomis, C. Wake, R. H. Drew and J. D. Bennett. The four first named of these selected the town site of Wakefield August 26, 1869. Colonel Loomis named the town Wakefield, partly in honor of the president of the company and partly because Wakefield, England, was the former home of John Wormald, the secretary of the company."[22]

Colonel Loomis, who named the town, was president of the National Land Company, and, like Rev. Richard Wake, a citizen of Illinois. His connection with Wakefield was due to the fact that the English colony acquired a part of their land from the National Land Company.[23] On October 6 the first large party of colonists arrived, and on the 12th of the same month the stockholders of the company met for permanent organization in the Hale House (now the Bartell) at Junction City.[24] The new corporation henceforth appears as "The Kansas Land and Emigration Company, incorporated August 25, 1869."

In the former edition of this narrative it was said that Mr. Wormald invested a fortune of $72,000 in the Wakefield colony. The statement certainly calls for revision. As a matter of fact popular tradition does credit Mr. Wormald with a fortune of $72,000, but in any case that was many times the amount of his actual investment in the stock of the company. Since the original narrative was composed the following more definite information has been obtained:

"Mr. Wormald certainly did not invest more than about $10,000 in the stock of the company, and I think it was only about $8000. He owned one-third of the stock, and, as we paid the railroad company but a little over $20,000

NOTE 19.—J. P. Marshall; in addition to the above, H. S. Walter names Messrs. George Gates, —— Miller and a young man named Meek.

NOTE 20.—Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871.

NOTE 21.—W. Guy.

NOTE 22.—Plat-book, p. 25.

NOTE 23.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 24.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

upon our contracts with them, there was never more than about $24,000 in the treasury from subscriptions to stock. The balance of the stock was subscribed by other members of the company, Colonel Loomis being the next heaviest holder."[25]

We pass now from the formation of the company to the story of the settlers whom its inducements brought out to the prairies of Kansas.

III.—THE ENGLISH SETTLERS.

The Kansas Land and Emigration Company aimed from the start to stimulate the immigration of English settlers. Popular tradition charges the advertising material employed with being highly colored and not wanting in deliberate mistatement. In his address October 10, 1894,[26] Mr. Quimby puts the matter more dispassionately:

"To colonize their lands, their prospectuses and advertisements were circulated wholly in England, and the colonists were mostly English trades people from the cities, a poor class to settle up a new country."

Yet in all fairness to the newcomers it must be said that the hardships of pioneer life were such as neither townsmen nor landsmen were prepared to meet. In many instances it was precisely the experienced English farmer who proved least adapted to the new conditions. He had as much to learn and more to unlearn than the townspeople.

Some of the earliest English settlers came out independently of the company's plans. Foremost among these were Messrs. P. Gillies and H. S. Walter. Mr. Walter has kindly furnished the following account of his coming to Kansas:

"I met Mr. Gillies, who had been in Junction City about two weeks, the day I arrived in Junction City, August 11, 1869, and the next day took up land in Republican township, on section 28, adjoining Doctor Burt."

Mr. Walter also gives some additional particulars concerning the pioneers of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. He says:

"The pioneer party who came August 21 consisted of R. Wake, J. Wormald, Spence, Miller, Maitland, Geo. Gates, and a young man named Meek, all of London, England, and also Mr. Loomis, land agent, of New York."

Messrs. Savage and Wooley were also in the neighborhood before the coming of the Wakefield colonists.[27] They lived in the same district and owned claims not far from that of Mr. Walter.

The first large party of settlers came over on the steamship Nebraska, of the Guion line, sailing from Liverpool on September 15, 1869, and reaching New York on the 29th.[28] The voyage is remembered as an exceptionally stormy one.[29] The party came west by way of the Great Lakes, visiting Niagara Falls en route, and arrived in Junction City on October 6 The number of persons, old and young, comprised in the Nebraska party, amounted to seventy-seven.[30] The following list of its members was furnished me by Messrs. John Chapman and Wm. Guy, viz.: Mr. James Bil lingham, Warwickshire; Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Boyce; Mr. John Farrington

---

NOTE 25.—R. Wake, Los Angeles, January 29, 1907.

NOTE 26.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894.

NOTE 27.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 28.—W. Guy.

NOTE 29.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 30.—W. Guy.

Alsop (eldest son of Mr. Wm. Alsop, one of the leaders of a subsequent party); Mr. Joseph Binns; Mr. Samuel Binns; Mrs. ———, a married sister of the two foregoing; (Mr Guy adds: "I cannot obtain the name of the sister of Messrs. Joseph and Samuel Binns. The latter had no family. The sister had two girls; the eldest died on the voyage and was buried at sea, it being the only death that occurred in our party of seventy-seven "[31]) Mr. and Mrs. Ison,[32] Wolverhampton: all of whom came from the west Midlands. Mr. John Muston, Lincolnshire; Mr. Christopher Deere, and Mr. John Deere, Buckinghamshire;[33] Mr. H. H. Meade, West Wickham, Buckinghamshire; the foregoing were from the east Midlands. Mr. Wm. Guy, Sussex (a native of the parish of Ripe, 1833, seven miles from Lewes; proprietor of one of our leading business houses, and my principal informant concerning the early history of Wakefield); Mr. Abner Shrives, Sussex; Mr. John Chapman, Somerset; (My father was a native of Montacute, in Somerset, where my grandfather, John Chapman, sr., and great-grandfather, Zachariah Chapman, were quarry owners and stone merchants, the quarry (Ham Hill) being leased of the Duchy of Cornwall.*) Mr. Geo. Taylor, Somerset; Mr. T. P. Pettigrew, Hampshire (afterwards secretary of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society. He likewise officiated as lay reader in the early days of St. John's parish.); Mr. John Spooner and family, London. The foregoing all came from the south or southwest of England.

Other members of the party were: Mr. Edward Moore, from Northumberland, afterwards co-pastor of the Madura Union church; Mr. Robert Poppleton and family, Yorkshire; Mr. ——— Johnson; Mr. ——— Gwyn; Mr. John Cole; Mr. and Mrs. Butcher; Mr. and Mrs. James Woodward. Mr. Woodward was one of the first business men in Wakefield, and, in partnership with James Marshall, erected many of the earliest buildings. The party arrived in Junction City on Wednesday, October 6, and celebrated their arrival by holding a religious and social gathering at the Methodist church, corner of Eighth and Jackson, on which occasion the Rev. Joseph Binns was one of the principal speakers.[34]

During the winter settlers came singly or by families. Mr. John Pett, from Cambridgeshire, came out as agent for Mr. Docking. He reached Junction City December 6, 1869, and in the following spring moved out on a farm southwest of Wakefield.[35] Information concerning others who came during the winter is not now obtainable.

Not many weeks passed before the English began to feel the hardships of pioneer life. My father, who was staying with Rev. William Todd, at Madura, had a severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism. No one thought he would recover. The Todd house, though more commodious than many other dwellings, was built in frontier style, the wall of roughly dressed stone, the woodwork of walnut or cottonwood. Here my father lay in an unplastered upper room, whose only ceiling was a roof of badly warped

* "Without any new creation, and previous to his acquiring the title of Prince of Wales, the heir-apparent of the sovereign is Duke of Cornwall, the most ancient title of its degree in England."—(Larned's History for Ready Reference, vol. V, p. 3644; Dodd, Manual of Dignities, pt. 2.)

NOTE 31.—Letter, Wakefield, Kan., April 3, 1907.

NOTE 32.—J. G. Billingham.

NOTE 33.—Historically considered, Buckinghamshire must be classed with Oxford and the Thames valley as a West Saxon district.—W. J. C.

NOTE 34.—W. Guy.

NOTE 35.—J. Pett.

native-lumber shingles. At night he could see the blink of the stars, and in stormy weather the snow drifted in on his bed. To add to his danger, his landlady, Mrs. Todd, was at this time afflicted with a felon. Under these circumstances it became necessary to move him to another house. He was carried at the dead of winter from the Todd house to the home of Mr. William Streeter. Here my father was fortunate in securing a downstairs room, and he remained with the Streeter family until after his recovery.

The dry continental climate, with its fitful and violent changes of temperature, proved very trying to the English settlers. Those who were here during the first winter recall a memorable storm that occured on the 16th of January, 1870.[36] It was a Sunday morning, the weather delightfully mild, when a party of nine started for the Madura schoolhouse to attend the preaching services. Messrs. Billingham and Guy, a runaway midshipman named Broome, from Bath, England, and a Mr. Laundy (the first proprietor of the Moutelle farm, in Union township) and his son Willie were in the party. While the meeting was in progress the wind veered to the north and blew at the rate of sixty knots[37] an hour. The temperature fell very rapidly. Mr. Todd told his listeners that he had never seen but one storm equally severe, and that no one could drive a team in the face of such a hurricane. But those who had come from Wakefield resolved to make a dash for the old log house built by James Gilbert in 1859. The distance to be covered was a little more than two miles. Young Broome was the first to reach the house, but he was so benumbed with cold that he could not open the door. He had to wait in the tempest till others came to his assistance.

The continual privation of pioneer life was harder to bear than its occasional sufferings. In winter a large part of one's time must be consumed in getting wood and water. To settlers on the high prairie this often meant a journey of several miles. Besides all this there was a serious economic drawback. The country had scarcely recovered from the effects of the civil war, and for many commodities one must still pay "war time" prices. This had much to do with the apparent failure of the colony during its earlier days.

The spring of 1870 was marked by the coming of a second party of colonists. They were for the most part from Montgomeryshire, in Wales, or from the adjoining English county of Shropshire. The leader of the party was Mr. Wm. Alsop, who invested very considerable capital in the settlement of Wakefield. The Alsop party sailed from Liverpool in the steamship Colorado (Guion line) on Wednesday, the 6th of April, 1870.[38] They set out from New York on Tuesday, the 19th, and reached Kansas City on the following Saturday.[39] On Monday, the 25th, they were met at Junction City by Rev. Richard Wake.

The following persons were members of the party:[40] Mr. Wm. Alsop and family, county Montgomery, known at Wakefield as Mr. William Alsop of Caine's creek; Mr. Richard Alsop and family, county Montgomery; Mr. Edward Jones and family, county Montgomery; Mr. T. C. Roscoe, of Uniontown (sec. 22), (my principal informant of the history of the Alsop party); Mr. S. E. Richards (proprietor of the Wakefield Cash Store); Mr. Wm. Rich-

NOTE 36.— W. Guy. NOTE 37.— A knot is a nautical mile of 6087 feet.

NOTE 38.— T. C. Roscoe. NOTE 39.— T. C. Roscoe. NOTE 40.— T. C. Roscoe.

ards (brother of the preceding); Mr. Thos. Newell; Mr. Thos. Woods; Mr. Swinbourne, Cumberland; Mr. Wm. Dalton, Warwickshire; Mr. Farmer (subsequently a merchant in White City); Mr. Richard Bird, Mr. Bird (brother of the preceding); J. W. Sampson (afterwards removed to the western part of the state, probably Osborne county); Mr. I. W. Thomas, Cornwall. Mr. A. R. Goffin, from London, also came out on the Colorado, although he was not a member of the Alsop party. In the earlier edition of this narrative mention was made of a Mr. Seimew (or Siemee), said to have come out about the same time as the Alsop party. Concerning this settler Mr. J. P. Marshall supplies the following information in a letter dated February 18, 1907:

"The man you write of as Siemee was here before the date you give, and boarded with the Todds for several months. His father was a bandmaster in a cavalry regiment in England and he was a player in the same. His claim was northwest of Wakefield. The Hannibal schoolhouse No. 29 was built on his place and was the first voting precinct for this part of the county."

In the same connection my informant says: "Mr. Moutelle and family, from London, were here in March, 1870; also the Cowderys, from Southampton; both families building and living in Wakefield."

A smaller party, consisting of Mr. Jas. Eustace, Mr. and Mrs. Jardine, Miss Kynaston (an aunt of the Reed brothers), Mr. Alfred Taylor (brother of Geo. Taylor, who came out on the Nebraska), Mrs. John Chapman, her two children, Miss Jennie Taylor (with Mrs. Chapman as her companion), and a servant girl named Harriet, also came out in April, 1870. The writer has the distinction of being one of the two children before mentioned. This party sailed on the City of Washington, one of the swiftest and best-equipped vessels afloat. In New York they stayed at the Astor House and found American travel decidedly expensive. None of them had any notion of what pioneer life was like. Of course, they took it for granted that America was an El Dorado.[41]

In April, 1870, Mr. Benjamin Budden, a naturalized American, came from Illinois. He was a native of Bridport, in Dorset, but had lived in America for several years.[42] In May of the same year two brothers named Yarroll and a young man named John Brett, from Hastings, in Sussex, came to Wakefield. They lived temporarily in a "dugout" on the Geo. Taylor farm, southwest of Wakefield.[43] Mr. Brett was a brother and Mr. Joseph Yarroll the first husband of Mrs. T. C. Roscoe.[44]

The completion of the company's store building was celebrated on the 15th of April, 1870. On this subject Mr. Marshall makes the following statement:

"April 15, 1870, being Good Friday, and the company's store building just finished, there was a gathering of settlers for many miles around—both English and American—whereat much tea and coffee, with edibles commensurate, were consumed. It helped to form many acquaintances in my case which have lasted to this day."[45]

The coming of the English colony greatly increased the number of voters

---

NOTE 41.—Mrs. J. Chapman.

NOTE 42.—H. W. C. Budden.

NOTE 43.—W. Guy.

NOTE 44.—W. Guy; R. O. Mackintosh.

NOTE 45.—Letter, Wakefield, February 18, 1907.

in Clay county, as the following quotation from page 15 of the Plat-book will show:

"The number of votes cast in 1866 was 112; in 1867, 155; in 1868, 196; in 1869, 232; in 1870, 482; in 1871, 1003; in 1872, 955; in 1873, 1158. . . . The number of votes cast in 1880 was 2672."

In the year 1870 Kansas suffered from a severe drought.[46] Those who are familiar with the clear, cloudless sky of a Kansas midsummer can imagine how this affected the newcomers, accustomed as they were to the humid atmosphere of England. In 1869 vegetation had been exceedingly luxuriant. Now every condition was reversed. Crops were an almost total failure and garden plants withered where they grew. The experience of the settlers seemed in almost every respect to belie the glowing reports that had lured them to the far West. On every side they murmured against the founders of the colony as the Israelites of old did against Moses and Aaron. Mr. Wake was especially blamed. They charged him with being the author of their calamities. Some years later Mr. Alexander Maitland, the secretary of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, revisited Great Britain, and during his absence the man whom he had left in charge of his property pillaged the house and tossed his papers and correspondence out of doors. After this high-handed proceeding the culprit fled to Missouri.[47] About the year 1870 Mr. James Eustace also returned to England for the purpose of organizing another party of settlers.[48] But in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company the tide of immigration was checked.[49]

IV.—THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COLONY.[50]

The Wakefield colony was remarkable for the number and variety of its "organizations." The most important of these were the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, the Wakefield Bridge and Ferry Company, the Agricultural and Literary Society, and the Wakefield General Market Company. The settlement also boasted a newspaper—the Wakefield *Herald*, printed at the *Union* office, in Junction City. Much difference of opinion exists as to the original name of the Wakefield paper. My father thinks that it was called *The Star of Empire*. Others are equally positive that from the beginning it was called the Wakefield *Herald*. A publication called *The Star of Empire* certainly did exist, a copy having formerly been in my possession, but it may have been simply a prospectus printed and circulated in England. It was printed in newspaper form and bore the well-known motto from Bishop Berkeley, "Westward the star of empire takes its way." Perhaps the most likely interpretation will be to suppose that the publication referred to was issued by some other firm than the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. This is known to have

NOTE 46.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 47.—H. W. C. Budden.

NOTE 48.—Cf. Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871.

NOTE 49.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894. Rev. Richard Wake thinks that Mr. Maitland's visit to Great Britain must have been later than 1870, and that it was unconnected with the affairs of the company.—(Letter from Los Angeles, Cal., December 18, 1907.)

NOTE 50.—The information contained in this section is to a great extent drawn from the copy of the Wakefield *Herald* now in the possession of Mrs. William Sparrowhawk.

been the case with regard to the maps and prospectuses with which intending settlers were supplied at Junction City.

The original plan of the founders was to engage in coöperative farming on a large scale. Mr. Spence, of whom mention has previously been made, was to have been agricultural director for the entire colony. This scheme was not approved of by Mr. Wake, who urged in opposition thereto the merits of a plan which would "give each settler individual ownership of land and absolute control of the products of his own labor."[51] The coöperative system was never put into practice at Wakefield, but instead the directors agreed to adopt Mr. Wake's idea of associative immigration. It was this new plan which found expression in a number of voluntary associations, each designed to promote in some way the welfare of the community. Another feature in the organization of the colony, and which was likewise due to Mr. Wake, was the insertion of a prohibitory clause in all title-deeds to town property.

As regards the societies or corporations previously enumerated, the following items of information may be found in the Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871:

(1) The Kansas Land and Emigration Company, incorporated August 25, 1869. General office, Wakefield, Kan., branch office, corner Tenth and Washington streets, Junction City. Directors: John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, Richard Wake, Wakefield; J. W. Bennett, John Brown, Morris, Ill; Harry D'Oyle, London, England; R. H. Drew, Sydenham, England. Officers: R. Wake, president; A. Maitland, secretary; J. Wormald, treasurer. Agents: Charles Wake, Junction City; Robert H. Drew, 2 Gresham building, Basinghall street, London, E. C.; John Miller, 13 Godliman street, London, England.

(2) The Wakefield Ferry and Bridge Company, incorporated May 30, 1870. President, James Eustace; ferryman, William Guy.

(3) The Agricultural and Literary Society. This organization was one of the most characteristic features of the colony, and its proceedings occupy considerable space in the columns of the Wakefield *Herald*. From the issue previously cited we take the following announcement:

"Agricultural and Literary Society. Every Wednesday evening, seven o'clock, at the hall. President, J. E. Burton; vice-president, R. Wake; secretary, T. P. Pettigrew; treasurer, J. Eustace; executive committee, Alex. Maitland, W. Eustace, C. Ingram, J. B. Quimby, R. N. Cowdery."

Of the recorded proceedings of the society we note the following:

"Wakefield, January 25, 1871. Poorly attended; general conversation.

"February 1. Dairy Farming, Rev. R. Wake.

"February 8. Tree Culture, Mr. Gray.

"February 14. Economy on the Farm, Mr. T. North.

"February 22. A discussion was held on the question of building a bridge on the Republican river at Clay Center. Messrs. J. W. Burton and others spoke against the proposition to issue county bonds to the amount of $25,000 to build the bridge. It was also stated that a bridge will be built at Wakefield for one-half the sum, which would be a greater convenience to a larger part of the country than one at Clay Center.

"March 1. Committee on public roads recommended the opening of roads on various section lines in the vicinity of Wakefield.

"March 8. J. B. Quimby, Esq., gave an address on 'Opening a Farm.' In accordance with a vote of the society this address was printed in full in the April number of the Wakefield *Herald*. (T. P. Pettigrew secretary.)"

NOTE 51.— Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

(5) The Wakefield General Market Company. In the spring of 1871 the establishment of a monthly live-stock market was proposed by Messrs. William Alsop, of Caine's creek, and John Chapman, of Wakefield. The Wakefield *Herald* thus announces the formation of the new company:

"We are pleased to be able to announce the opening of a monthly market at Wakefield for the sale of cattle and all kinds of live stock."

Organization: President, William Alsop; secretary, R. Wake; treasurer, J. B. Quimby; directors, W. Alsop, J. Chapman, E. Jones, J. B. Quimby, C. Fullington, R. Wake, and A. Maitland.

At the time of the publication of the April issue of the Wakefield *Herald* the market square was being enclosed with a board fence.

CHURCHES.

While the various organizations pertaining to the Wakefield colony are under consideration, it will be fitting to give some account of the churches.

The Methodist Episcopal church, under the pastorate of Rev. R. Wake, met in the public hall at Wakefield. The building was situated near the northwest corner of the old market square, on the west side. The first Sunday school superintendent was Mr. James Dodson, who also held the office of county superintendent of public instruction.[52] He still resides at Wakefield as its oldest inhabitant.

In his address at the old settlers' reunion, October 10, 1894, Mr. Wake gave the following particulars:

"In May, 1870, I organized a Methodist church in the room over the store building, then just erected, and preached twice each Sunday until the following March. A Sunday-school was organized, with J. S. Dodson as superintendent. The following year other preachers, Messrs. Eustace, Mullis and Thompson, assisted in supplying the pulpit, and churches were organized at Exeter and Alida, and a circuit formed reaching up the river to Riverhead, opposite Clifton, and west to Oakhill.[53]

The Union church, with Rev. Wm. Todd and Rev. Edward Moore as co-pastors, worshiped in schoolhouse No. 8, at Madura.[54]

In the early days of the settlement Mr. Todd preached at the home of Moses Younkins, on Timber creek.[55] In 1868 the old schoolhouse at Madura, perpetuating the name of his former mission field in South India, became the center of his labors. The Madura church was afterward affiliated with the Congregational body, and when the new building was erected in Wakefield the name of "Madura Congregational Church" was retained.

The services of the Episcopal church were first held at the home of Mrs. Pearson, on section 8, in Gill township, in the spring of 1871. Mr. T. P. Pettigrew usually officiated as lay-reader.

"During 1871," writes Mr. J. P. Marshall, "funds were collected in Wakefield and vicinity, as well as in England and at Baltimore, to erect a stone church on the northeast corner of section 3, township 10, range 3 east. Mr. Charles Ingram donated five acres on section 3 and five acres on section 2 for church, rectory, graveyard and glebe. The building had progressed

NOTE 52.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 53.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 54.—Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3; Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894.

NOTE 55.—G. W. Southwick, in the Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 5, 1897 (Santa Barbara, Cal., October 5, 1897.)

to the shingling of the roof when, in July, 1872, the first tornado experienced by the newcomers leveled it to the ground."[56]

The destruction of the church building by the tornado of July, 1872—in the nature of the case a serious disaster—may perhaps account for the statement in the Plat-book that the first vestry meeting was held on October 14, 1874. Rev. H. H. Hickox, who was then rector, is mentioned in Wilder's Annals of Kansas in connection with relief delivered to sufferers from the grasshopper scourge of 1874–'75. The present church building at St. John's, on the site presented by Mr. Charles Ingram, was dedicated in the spring of 1876.[57]

The Baptist church at Uniondale, northwest of Wakefield, was organized May 6, 1873. To this congregation belonged several families from the southeast of England, particularly the Cowells and Yarrows, from Henham, near Saffron Walden (County Essex).[58] Another pioneer of this community was William Kynaston, who came out from England in April, 1871. He was one of the charter members of the church.[59]

A few words may be added concerning the town site of Wakefield as it was in the early days of the English settlement. The town lies in the angle between two bluffs, one of which, facing eastward, overlooks the river; the other, extending toward the south, marks the point at which a small creek flows out into the river valley. The outward slope of the northern ridge, known as Cedar Bluff, is almost precipitous and clothed with a fairly dense growth of timber. The eastern brow of Cedar Bluff affords an extensive view. An engraving, which occurs in the Plat-book, professes to give some idea of Wakefield as it appeared at the close of its first decade. This, however, does not add much to our knowledge. Few of the details are recognizable, and the perspective is badly distorted. When the English settlers came, in 1869, the only dwelling north of the creek was the house built by James Gilbert, some ten years earlier. Its position is described as follows: "The old log house was just south of Mr. Lumb's present home. Depression of cellar is still visible in line with E street south of the city limits."[60]

With the influx of settlers in 1869, building operations at once began. Messrs. Marshall and Woodward put up the company's office and the store and public hall, both on the west side of the old market square. On the sections adjoining Wakefield on the west, dwellings were built in 1869 by James Gibbons, J. G. Billingham, and T. P. Pettigrew.[61] My father's house was built early in 1870. The first dwellings in town were those of Benjamin Moutelle, on Third avenue (now owned by Mrs. Shafner), and R. E. Cowdery, corner of Fourth avenue and D street.[62] Of the two earliest dwellings

---

NOTE 56.—J. P. Marshall, Wakefield, August 4, 1907.

NOTE 57.—Plat-book, p. 19.

NOTE 58.—J. G. Cowell, January 25, 1908.

NOTE 59.—"The organization of the Uniondale church was [effected] May 6, 1873. Charter members were: Wm. Kynaston, Mary Yarrow, Amelia Randall, Arthur Rothwell. Jasper Cowell was ordained as first pastor of the church, August 14, 1877."—(T. COWELL, February 4, 1908.)

NOTE 60.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 61.—J. G. Billingham.

NOTE 62.—List of earliest buildings in Wakefield, revised by Messrs. J. P. Marshall and W. E. Lumb: Office of company (Spooner building), 1869, block 64, D street; company's store, February, 1870, block 64, D street; Moutelle House, Third avenue, first dwelling built; Cowdery's house, 1870 (now part of Humbert's house), block 46, corner Fourth and D streets; Gillett's (now Alsop's), built by Porter, block 36, corner G street and Fifth avenue; Rev. R. Wake's (F. Dodson's shop), 1870, block 54, corner D street and Third avenue; Eustace's house, 1870, block 48, corner B street and Fourth avenue; Thomas's house, 1870, block 48, B street; Adamson's (now Batchelor's),

on the ridge of the west bluff, that erected by Messrs. John and Paul Guard (G street near Fourth avenue), was afterwards blown away by a tornado. On the block just north of this stands the house built by S. B. Porter, but shortly after occupied by Mr. Gillett. Rev. Richard Wake's house, corner of D street and Third avenue, was built in 1870. This house, according to another source, was subsequently occupied by Thomas Goosey. His son died here, and was buried on their farm in Gill township. The Pioneer Hotel was built in 1870, and the old schoolhouse in 1873. Business life gathered about the company's store at the northwest corner of the market square. The upstairs room, known as the "hall," in which the Methodist Episcopal church worshiped on Sunday, and where the discussions of the Literary and Agricultural Society were held on Wednesday evenings, was likewise a center for social gatherings. The entrance was by an exterior stairway at the back of the building. For the writer, some of childhood's earliest recollections are associated with the Sunday service or other gatherings held in the public hall. Of the business affairs of the colony a partial estimate can be drawn from the columns of the Wakefield *Herald.*[63] Mr. Alex. Maitland appears among the professional men,* and we observe that the company offers 22,000 acres of land for sale. About the same time Mr. Gillett was prominent as a cattleman,† and so likewise was Henry Buckle, the agent for Mr. Clinch, of Witney. The establishment of the monthly market was intended to stimulate the cattle trade.

At Junction City the settlers came in touch with the affairs of the wider world. During the autumn and winter of 1870–'71, the war between France and Germany was in progress,[64] and those of the Wakefield colony whom business called to the city were struck with the interest which our German fellow citizens took in the conflict.

With the opening of the Republican Valley branch of the Union Pacific railroad the first stage in the development of Wakefield draws to a close. Two years earlier the materials for the building of my father's house had been hauled by ox-team from Junction City. Prices were high in Junction, and with the additional cost of transportation almost prohibitive. The railroad was opened in 1872, when Charles Wake received the position of station-master. Geo. Taylor, a member of the Nebraska party, was the first mail-carrier.

V.—COLONISTS FROM THE UPPER THAMES VALLEY.

In spite of the severe check which the stream of immigration received in the year 1870, it subsequently underwent a partial revival. The Wakefield *Herald* thus notices the coming of the next large party of settlers:

"We learn that James Eustace will leave England for Wakefield on the

1870, block 49, corner B street and Fourth avenue; Paul and John Guard, 1870, block 43, G street, "wrecked by the cyclone"; Pioneer Hotel, 1870, block 63, E street; E. Jones, 1870, and R. Alsop's, 1870, both on First avenue, block 79; Jardine's house (now Moutrie's), 1871; David Haden's house and shop, 1871, block 74, E street; schoolhouse, 1873, block 56, E street.

NOTE 63.—List of business advertisements: Dry-goods and groceries, Budden and Margetts; butchers, Alsop & Jones; blacksmith, David Haden; boot and shoemaker, J. Moutelle; carpenters and builders, James Dodson & Sons, B. F. Jevons; painters and glaziers, James South, J. Spooner; bricklayer and plasterer, John Chambers; tailor and cutter, (Isaiah) Jevons; lime burners, Harris & Downing; teamsters, J. Haden, A. Shrives, E. Dodson, and S. B. Porter; Pioneer Hotel, W. C. Thompson.—(Wakefield *Herald.* April, 1871, Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk).

* Postmaster and notary public—Mrs. Isabella Maitland (Seattle, Wash.)

† J. P. Marshall, Wakefield, February 18, 1907.

NOTE 64.—Battle of Weissenburg, August 4, 1870; capitulation of Paris, January 28, 1871.

5th of April, accompanied by a large party of English agriculturists, whom he has prevailed upon to remove to the broad prairies of Kansas. Golden opportunities await them here."[65]

It was, perhaps, the business relations that existed between some of the Oxfordshire colonists and George Grant, esq., the founder of the English colony at Victoria, Ellis county, that led Noble L. Prentis to place the beginning of Wakefield in 1871. In his History of Kansas, page 146, he says:

"In 1871 the Kansas Pacific sold to the Swedish colony, in Saline county, 22,000 acres; to an English colony in Clay county, 32,000 acres; and to a Welsh colony, in Riley county, 19,000 acres. In 1873, George Grant, of England, purchased of the Kansas Pacific Company 50,000 acres in the eastern portion of Ellis county, with the design of colonizing English people of means."

So far as the date is concerned, the historian is evidently mistaken, for at the time spoken of the English colony in Clay county had been in existence very nearly two years. The efforts made in 1871 to retrieve the fortunes of the Wakefield colony brought it more prominently before the public eye, and may, not unnaturally, have created the impression that it originated at that time.

The first party belonging to the new stream of immigration we shall term the "Sparrowhawk party," Mr. Robert Sparrowhawk being one of its leading members. The Wakefield *Herald*, as we have seen, states that it was conducted by James Eustace, esq., and fixes the date of its departure from England on April 5, 1871. Mr. Eustace, it will be remembered, came out on the City of Washington in 1870, and had in the meantime revisited England.

The names of the following persons belonging to the Sparrowhawk party were furnished by Mr. E. R. Hawes and Mrs. Wm. Sparrowhawk: Mr. and Mrs. R. Sparrowhawk and family, from Aston under Wychwood, Oxfordshire; Mr. and Mrs. Tilbury and family (Mr. Tilbury afterwards returned to England and was a curate at Exeter); Mr. and Mrs. Shirley and family; Mr. and Mrs. E. R. Hawes (settled on the Geo. Taylor farm; are now living in Wakefield. Mr. Hawes is one of my informants concerning the party of which he was a member); Mr. and Mrs. Cox and family; Mr. and Mrs. James Loader and family; Mr. Geo. Bettridge; Mr. Herman Walter; Mr. William Thurlow; Mr. Richard Jones (brother of Mrs. James Loader); Mr. and Mrs. Arkell and family; Mr. and Mrs. Parsons; Mrs. Wightman (lived just east of Tom Keller's place).

Most of these came from Oxfordshire and adjoining counties, the streams of which flow into the Thames, and may therefore be described as settlers from the Upper Thames valley.

Among those who came from Oxfordshire about this time were the Clinches. Their names were Harold, Charles and Duncan Clinch. The two first named were sons, the third a nephew, of a wealthy brewer in Witney on the Windrush.[66] Witney, so the local saying affirms, is famed for four B's—"beauty, bread, beer, and blankets." During their stay at Wakefield Messrs. Charles and Harold Clinch engaged in sheep and cattle raising. Their father supplied them with ample capital for the enterprise—not less than forty or fifty thousand dollars, it is said. In addition, Duncan Clinch received an allowance of seventy-five dollars a month from his father.[67]

NOTE 65.—Wakefield *Herald*, vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1871.

NOTE 66.—E. Eustace, T. Beldham.

NOTE 67.—T. Beldham.

Frank Harris, an experienced shepherd, was commissioned to bring out some sixty-five or seventy pure-blooded sheep of the best English breeds. The Clinches also imported several head of choice cattle and two Clydesdale stallions that subsequently took the premium at the Topeka state fair.[68] The management of the enterprise, perhaps on account of the youth and inexperience of the Clinch boys, was in the hands of Henry Buckle. He came out with them as agent for Mr. Clinch, sr., and took up a claim on the southwest quarter of section 24, in Gill township, and there the members of the party lived for at least two years.[69] It was his early death that threw all into confusion. Henry Buckle died suddenly at Wamego while en route with a herd of cattle from Missouri, and the right of homestead passed to his father. Accordingly Mr. Buckle, sr., came out to Kansas, bringing with him the remaining members of his household,[70] and the Clinches moved the stock to the place now owned by Richardson, adjoining Ed. Southwick's on the north. When the Buckle family took possession of the claim on section 24, Gill township, the Clinch boys made their headquarters nearer Wakefield. They kept "bachelors' hall" at the Haynes farm, which at that time was the property of Mr. Lewinton Howse.[71] But in spite of abundant means the young men did not adapt themselves to pioneer life. Their domestic arrangements and housekeeping are said to have resembled those of primitive man, and many anecdotes are told of their father's disgust when he visited Wakefield.

Among other settlers from Oxfordshire were H. B. Jones, afterwards a druggist at Industry, Kan.[72] Mr. Thomas Irons is said to have come from the same county. Messrs. Cumber and (Charles) Harris, who held claims on the south halves of sections 26 and 22 respectively, in Gill township, were also Oxfordshire people.[73] The Buckle family, to whom reference has already been made, were from Chawbury, in Wychwood (Oxfordshire), having lived on a farm that had been cleared under the disafforesting act.[74] The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Buckle, three sons (Ted, Will and Charley) and two or three daughters, one of whom married Rev. J. H. Young, an Episcopal clergyman.[75] The Buckle homestead was that previously occupied by the Clinches, but a claim was also taken up by E. T. Buckle, one of the sons, on the south half of the northeast quarter of section 26,[76] in the same township. Rev. J. H. Young lived on the south half, on the farm now owned by my brother, Mr. Herbert Chapman.

It was about this time that George Grant, esq., was engaged in founding the English colony at Victoria, Ellis county.[77] The settlement was planned on a much greater scale than the Wakefield colony. Mr. Grant purchased

---

NOTE 68.—T. Beldham.

NOTE 69.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, February 18, 1907).

NOTE 70.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, September 31, 1906).

NOTE 71.—Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Lumb. T. Beldham.

NOTE 72.—Plat-book, p. 21, (H. Bateman Jones, M. D.)

NOTE 73.—W. Guy; the second Marshall map, section 26, township 10, range 3, section 22, township 10, range 3.

NOTE 74.—E. Eustace. NOTE 75.—W. Guy.

NOTE 76.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, September 31, 1906).

NOTE 77.—"May 6, 1873, Geo. Grant imports stock for a 60,000-acre farm at Victoria, Ellis county."—(Wilder's Annals of Kansas.)

50,000 acres of land and erected the railway station and hotel, as well as a church, at his own expense.

"He proceeded," says Mr. R. T. Batchelor, "to arrange with the Kansas Pacific Railroad Company for the erection of a fine two-story stone building on the right of way, consisting of thirteen rooms, part to be used as a depot and the remainder as an hotel. After concluding these and other arrangements, such as building fences, shelter for stock, etc., Mr. Grant returned to his home and proceeded to perfect his arrangements for the transportation of his fellow colonists. He very soon had everything in train for the accomplishment of his cherished hopes, and impressed all with whom he came in contact with his business ability and his attention to every detail. A few of the best breeds of sheep, a bunch of the finest Short-horn cattle and some full-blood draft horses were soon purchased and on the way. As there had been no possibility of providing feed at their destination, they were consigned to Wakefield and were wintered on the farm now owned by Mr Richardson, but known at the time as Chill creek. Mr. Grant was soon surrounded by quite a number of wealthy men, many of them connected with the aristocracy of England and Scotland, who purchased large tracts of land and brought in thousands of sheep."[78]

In the meantime matters went from bad to worse at Chill creek. The Clinch brothers ran up bills from $100 to $150 a year for tobacco and similar luxuries, and the ranch proved anything but a success. At length Mr. Clinch, senior, decided to come out and see things for himself. He was thoroughly incensed at his sons' slipshod ways, and after satisfying himself that the enterprise would not succeed, he sold out and took his sons and nephew back to England.[79] The flock of sheep were disposed of to George Grant, then engaged in founding the English colony at Victoria.[80] While Mr. Clinch was in Wakefield a cattle show was held at which he presided as judge. In this capacity he awarded the prize of a silver cup, for the best bull shown, to the Gifford brothers of Hillside.[81] Mr. Clinch had already sold out and returned to England when Mr. Edwin Eustace visited Ellis county in the spring of 1874.

The events just related may be said to close the first chapter in the history of Wakefield. The colony rapidly lost its associative character. The monthly market was early discontinued, and one by one the remaining corporations, including the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, passed out of existence. The following account of the financial history of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company has been furnished by Rev. Richard Wake:

"When by reason of the drought of 1870 and the short-crop years following, we were unable to carry the enterprise through—and so surrendered our contract to the railroad company—it was currently reported that the company had made deeds to various parties and failed to make their title secure. This was in no case true where purchaser took quarter-sections, as in every

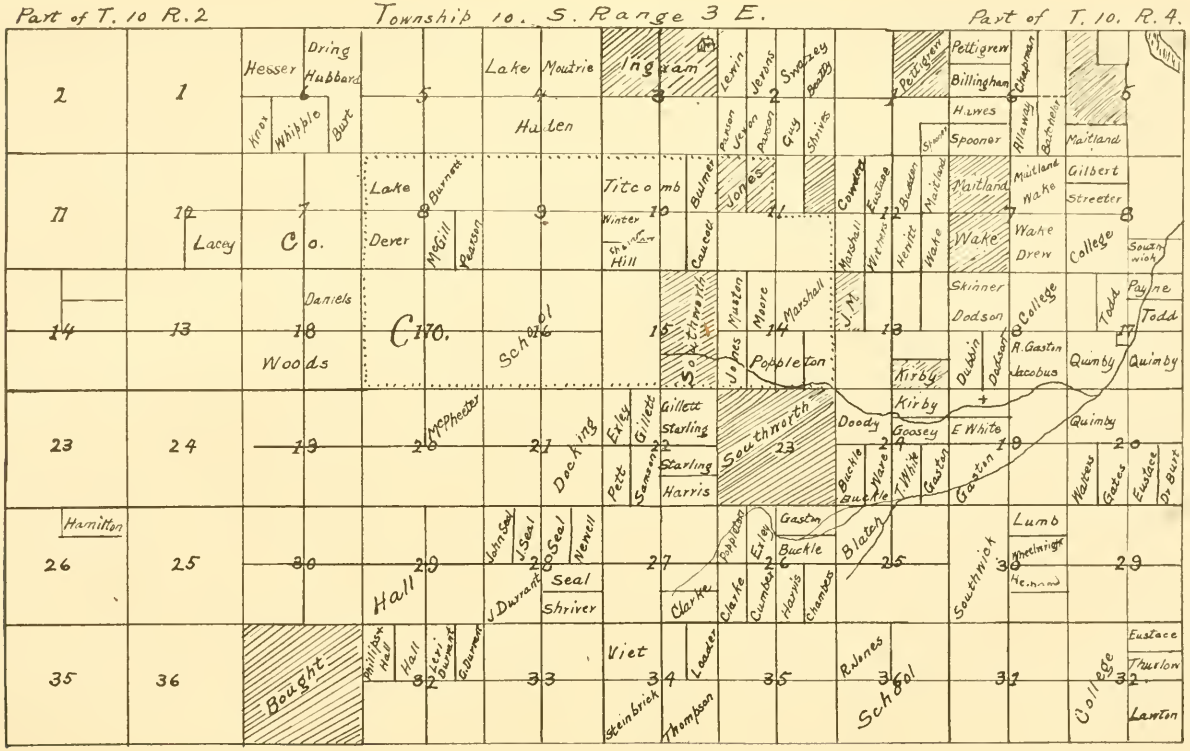
---

NOTE 78.—R. T. Batchelor, in Wakefield *Advertiser*, vol. 10, No. 29, January 21, 1898.

NOTE 79.—T. Beldham; Mr. and Mrs. Lumb.

NOTE 80.—E. Eustace, J. P. Marshall. "My recollection is," adds Mr. Marshall, "that Mr. Clinch, sr., met Mr. Grant (the proprietor of the Victoria colony) here in Kansas, and when he (Mr. C.) had decided to return to England made a sale of all his blooded stock to him. The Clinches did not stay long at the Quimby creek place, and when they left the stock was looked after by a nephew of Mr. Grant, 'Aleck' Grant. The whole business was a wretched waste of money, both with the Clinches and the Victoria colonists, resulting from an utter lack of knowledge of the country and its possibilities at that time."

NOTE 81.—H. W. C. Budden.



The Second Marshall Map—1874

such instance the railroad company was paid in full and the title made good. But there were a few cases—three or four—in which we had deeded eighty-acre lots *informing the parties that we had not perfected title, and could not immediately do so, because the railroad company refused to make deeds for less than the number of acres described in the original contract.* And as we could not pay for and hold the additional eighty acres, we offered to pay back the money, which, after some delay, we did. I myself indorsed the company's notes personally, ultimately making full settlement.

"The fact that none of our purchasers lost by our failure did not gain as rapid currency as the report that we had defrauded those who had trusted us. The old proverb that 'a lie will travel a league while truth is putting on his boots,' was illustrated in our experience. I may say also that not all our shareholders lost all their investments. Messrs. Brown and Rose, of Illinois, surrendered shares for land, and Mr. Wormald did likewise. Some of us who held on to the end did not have as good opportunity to make ourselves whole. But we came out of it with a large amount of experience."

Several later settlers came from Shropshire, followed in the course of the Alsop party. Messrs. Benjamin Adams, William Kynaston, and Ralph Fowles, sailed from Liverpool on April 1, 1871, and landed in New York after a nine-days voyage. The two former settled in Union township. Mrs. Adams came out in the following August.[82] A number of colonists came to the vicinity of Wakefield under the influence of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company but without connecting themselves with the Wakefield colony. The Rundles and Winsors came to Junction City and took up claims in Dickinson county. Those of the Wakefield colonists, the time of whose coming is not definitely ascertained, will be noticed at greater length in the following account of the distribution and location of the settlers.

VI.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EARLY SETTLERS.

[REMARK.—The following notation will be employed to define the situation of farms belonging to the settlers mentioned. Fractional expressions will be used to denote the subdivisions both of sections and quarter-sections; thus, S½ of NE¼ of sec. 26 is to be read "the south half of the northeast quarter of section 26."]

In describing the distribution of the Wakefield colonists, the writer will be guided chiefly by the second Marshall map on page 503 of this article. Many incidents of a descriptive nature, as well as many particulars concerning the settlers themselves, have been furnished by M. William Guy, of Wakefield. The map, to which reference has already been made, was drawn by Mr. J. P. Marshall about the year 1874. The area which it described is bounded on the east by the line running between sections 4 and 5 (33–32) in Republican township, and on the west by the second section-line in Athelstane township. It includes, therefore, the whole of township 10, range 3 east (Gill township), and parts of the townships adjoining it on the east and west respectively. The town site of Wakefield, lying mainly in section 5, township 10, range 4 east, occupies the upper right-hand corner of the map.

THE AMERICAN SETTLERS.

Our survey of the district occupied by the American settlers will begin with section 8. The proprietors of the northwest quarter of this section were Messrs. Gilbert and Streeter. They were Americans, and had taken up their claims before the coming of the English colonists. Mr. Ed. Southwick, the owner of S½ of SE¼, was the nephew of Rev. William Todd,[83] of

NOTE 82.—Mrs. B. Adams.

NOTE 83.—REV. WILLIAM TODD was born at Marcellus, Onondaga county, New York, March 8, 1801. He graduated in 1821 from Hamilton College, and entered the Theological Seminary at

Madura. The occupants of the north half of the section will be mentioned in our account of the English settlers. The SW¼ of section 8 was owned by the State Agricultural College, established at Manhattan in 1863, and reorganized in 1873.

On section 17, the S½ was owned by Mr. J. B. Quimby and the NE¼ by Mr. W. E. Payne (N½) and Rev. Wm. Todd (S½). The Todd house is still standing and is a typical representative of the better class of pioneer dwellings. The deep-set windows, the wood-work of native walnut lumber, the rooms long and low, all characterize the dwelling as unlike anything erected since the coming of the railroad. School district No. 8, and subsequently the church organized there, derived their name from the fact of Mr. Todd having been a missionary at Madura, in India.

"It makes me realize the flight of time" writes Mr. G. W. Southwick, "to look back about forty years when as a small boy in the city of Leavenworth I watched the purchase of an ox-team and wagon loaded with stores for the new home in Clay county. Driving cattle was a new business to the home missionary, Uncle Todd, and the trip of 150 miles was a novel one to his wife, Aunt Ruth.* It was the time of exceptional spring winds, when tumbleweeds were numerous and on the go all day, which gave a weird appearance to the landscape of what seemed illimitable prairie, and caused a little homesick feeling to touch the company. There were many things to learn about ox-driving. After suffering sundry tricks, with years of experience we learned that it was best not to get out on the 'off side'—but we did not know it on this first trip. Of those who took us into their homes and made us welcome, many have crossed the 'boundless river.' We remember the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Fullington, who proved the congenial friends of the family for many years, [and] the good-hearted, whole-souled Moses Younkin, who waded the river and got the log canoe to transport the preacher across. Think of it! For months we traveled with our ox-team

---

Auburn. In 1820 he married Miss Lucy Brownell. In June, 1833, Mr. Todd and wife went to India as missionaries under the American Board. He lost his wife and married the widow of a brother missionary named Woodward In February, 1839, ill health compelled him to return to America. He preached at various points in New York and Pennsylvania until 1858, when his adopted children, J. B. Quimby and W. E. Payne and families, concluded to settle in Kansas, and he came with them. He had a third wife, named Ruth S., a delightful woman, who shared with him his pioneering in Kansas. Mr. Todd died August 10, 1874, and Mrs. Ruth S. Todd died in Chicago during the World's Fair. Mrs. Ruth S. Todd, in 1874, prepared and published an extensive sketch of her husband, but did not mention herself. Geo. W. Martin, then editor of the Junction City *Union*, paid the following tribute to Mr. Todd :

"In the fall of 1861, learning that there was no preaching in Junction City, Mr. Todd left hi- farm on the Republican, and came to town, accompanied by his wife, who shared his self-sacris ficing, missionary spirit. The difficulties of that day, in the absence of the support of Him who feeds the ravens, would have been simply overwhelming. Mr. Todd preached the Word during the years 1862 and 1863 practically without salary, putting an absolute faith in God for his food. And yet while, commercially speaking, he had nothing to get it with, and no hope that he would have anything with which to get it, food was always provided. The absence of anything in the house to eat did not in the slightest daunt the old man's spirit. He arrived in town with sixty dollars in gold in his pocket. He exhausted that and such as he could raise by chopping wood and doing stone work. He gave himself no thought about hardships. He was then feeble, having lost his health in India, but with the same inspiration, which forty years before had led him to that foreign field, he labored in this frontier post, while the least possible strength lasted, with great zeal, earnestness, and success. As a man Mr. Todd was without hypocrisy or dissembling. His actions and his words were universally accepted as the very height of sincerity. There was no such element in him as self. He was a man of vigorous intellect, and an earnest and effective public speaker. His sermons were full of thought and originality, and very peculiar in their simplicity. He talked as though his hearers were children, and the love of Jesus was the absorbing element of his religion and his ministrations. On two sides of the globe this simple, honest, earnest-hearted, godly man, though dead, yet speaketh, and in the ages to come, while the conflict with sin lasts or a heart beats, his impress will be found."

*Mrs. Ruth S. Todd was a lady of exceptional culture, and, like her husband, took a life-long interest in missions. The writer was frequently the guest (1884-'92) of the family circle at the Todd homestead, and remembers with pleasure the fact that Mrs Todd encouraged his earliest efforts in the field of history.

every Sunday to Mr. Younkin's hospitable house, where Uncle Todd held service, and the singing—to my boyish taste this was the most edifying part of the worship—was led by Mr. Gill."[84]

Mr. J. B. Quimby, who settled in Republican township in 1857, owned the S½ of sec. 17, and, subsequently, also NW¼ of sec. 20. From him Quimby Creek derives its name.

The E½ of SE¼ of sec. 20 was owned by Doctor Burt, who had been an army surgeon in the civil war. The doctor and his wife (*née* Locke), were both of old colonial descent.

"Dr. Asahel Burt, jr., was born in Vermont, September 28, 1828, where his early days were spent upon a farm. When sixteen years old he ran away from home and joined a whaling vessel, in which he served three years, going to all parts of the globe." He was married in New York to Mary S. Locke on November 28, 1850. Becoming acquainted with Dr. J. V. P. Quackenbush, afterwards surgeon-general of the state of New York, he entered the Albany Medical College, where he graduated with the degree of M. D. "He entered the army as assistant surgeon of the One Hundred and Thirty-ninth New York volunteer infantry, and after about a year was made full surgeon, and was mustered out as such with his regiment at the close of the war. During his army life he was surgeon-in-chief of his brigade, served on several boards of examination, served in the general hospital at Hampton, Va., and in the field hospitals of the Tenth, Eighteenth and Twenty-fourth army corps, besides doing his share of surgical work in the field." He was present at the battles of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862; Fair Oaks, May 31-June 1; the advance to the vicinity of Richmond in June of the same year; at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864; Bermuda Hundred, on the 16th; the siege of Petersburg, and many other actions less known to the general reader. "On September 29, 1864, he was in the battle of Fort Harrison, where Gen. G. J. Stannard was wounded, and assisted in removing his left arm. The G. A. R. post in Wakefield, Kan., was named for General Stannard."

Doctor Burt came to Kansas in March, 1868, and spent his later years on his farm in Republican township. Although a Methodist by persuasion, his early associations with the Madura community led him to attend the Congregational church. He died at his home, April 5, 1901, in his seventy-second year.[85] Mrs. Burt traced her ancestry to William Locke, of Woburn. Her great grandfather, David Locke, born 1740, as we read in the published history of the family, was a soldier both in the Seven Years' war and in the War of Independence. "He was a soldier in the old French war, at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. In the War of the Revolution he was a volunteer who went to the assistance of General Gates in September, 1777, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. He was an influential man in the church, of which he was a most exemplary member."[86]

In the same neighborhood with Doctor and Mrs. Burt lived W. P. Gates, who, as a mere lad, had also seen military service in the civil war. In an ad-

NOTE 84.—Gilbert W. Southwick, in the Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 5, 1897. (Santa Barbara, Cal., October 5, 1897.)

NOTE 85.—The Clay Center *Times*, April 11, 1901.

NOTE 86.—Mary Smith Locke, born 1829; page 225 of "A Genealogical and Historical Record of the Descendants of Wm. Locke, of Woburn, 1853; Boston and Cambridge" (Jas. Monroe & Co)

dress on October 10, 1894, Doctor Burt mentions a settler named French, who likewise lived in that vicinity.

In the district north of Wakefield the Avery family had taken up claims before the coming of the English colonists. The first to settle in that vicinity was Mr. Albert Avery. His brother, Mr. Henry Avery, came some time later. They were natives of Orleans county, Vermont, and were of English descent. The following is an account of the coming of the Avery family to this country:

"We now take up the record of our earliest ancestor (Dr. Wm. Avery) who crossed the Atlantic. He in 1650 cast in his lot with the settlers of the town of Dedham, Mass., bringing with him his wife, Margaret, and three children, from the Parish of Barkham, county of Berkshire, England."

The colonial Averys of the first two generations were of English birth. Rev. John Avery, born 1685, grandson of Dr. Wm. Avery, and his son Job, born 1722-'3, lived in Truro, on Cape Cod. George (1757-1859), was a son of Job Avery and Jean Thatcher, and grandfather of Messrs. Albert and Henry Avery, fought in the War of Independence, and after its close resided in Plainfield, N. H., on the east bank of the Connecticut river. He left an account of his "Tryals and Captivity" during the war. George Avery, son of the preceding, after living many years in Orleans county, Vermont, came with his family to Kansas, and died near Wakefield, September 29, 1889, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Elkins.[87]

Mr. Albert Avery's farm, on Caine's creek, afterward purchased by his brother Henry, consisted of parts of sections 18 and 19, township 9 south, range 4 east. Albert died at Wakefield, February 1, 1875.

The pioneer settler in Gill township was Mr. Kirby. His claim included the S½ of SE¼ of sec. 13 and N½ of NE¼ of sec. 24. In the year 1868 his house was the only dwelling in the township.[88]

With regard to Athelstane township, the following information is to be found in Plat-book (p. 21): "The first settlers in this township were William Price and his son Martin, who came February 17, 1860."

THE ENGLISH SETTLERS.

Settlers in township 10, range 4 east.

The town site of Wakefield consisted of 120 acres in the NW¼ of sec. 5, and the two "eighties" (E½ of NE¼ of sec. 6, and N½ of SW¼ of sec. 5) adjoining it on the west and south respectively. In section 6, the east half was owned by Mr. R. T. Batchelor, the west half by Mr. James Gibbons, both of whom were members of the pioneer party. When the Marshall map was drawn the Gibbons homestead was owned by William Allaway. The W½ of NE¼, adjoining the town site of Wakefield, was owned by Mr. John Chapman. An account of my father's family has been given in connection with the list of those who came out in the steamship Nebraska in 1869. My mother was the second daughter of Mr. William Hellier, of Poundsford (Pitminister), near Taunton. The Helliers had been settled for several generations at Hennock, near Bovey Tracey (Devon). Mrs. Wm. Hellier was a daughter of Edmund Rich, esq., of Cross House, Over Stowey. The Riches of Stowey, Butcombe, and Bagborough were descended from "Samuel Rich,

NOTE 87.—Avery family record; Dedham Branch of the Avery Family in America, pp. 19, 322-327. (Plymouth, Mass., 1893.)

NOTE 88.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, October 25, 1894.

esq., gentleman,"[89] who flourished in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. On the extinction of the elder branch of the family (in 1815) my maternal great-grandfather removed from Butcombe to Over Stowey.

The west half of the section was divided in four "eighties," lying east and west. The original proprietors were Messrs. Pettigrew (N½ of NW¼), Billingham (S½ of same), Geo. Taylor (N½ of SW¼), and John Spooner (S½ of same), all of whom came out in the steamship Nebraska in 1869. In 1873–'74 the Geo. Taylor farm was owned by E. R. Hawes, who came out with Mr. Sparrowhawk's party.

Section 7, lying southwest of Wakefield, was assigned to the directors of the colony—the NE¼ to Mr. John Wormald, the NW¼ to Mr. Alex. Maitland, the SW¼ to Rev. Richard Wake, and the SE¼ to Mr. R. H. Drew. Of the proprietors mentioned, Mr. Drew never became an actual settler, although he paid a visit to the colony in the early days and stayed with my father at his farm on section 6. In addition to the quarter-section mentioned above, Mr. Alex. Maitland owned the "eighty" (in twp. 10, range 3 east) adjoining it on the west, and also the S½ of SW¼ of section 5, adjoining the town site of Wakefield. He erected a dwelling-house on the first-named eighty, and also commenced to build a stone residence on the farm lying south of the town site. The southeast angle of the last-named building, situated on the east slope of the bluff just north of Denny Mason's, was standing not many years since. Some trees had sprung up under the shelter of the wall, and from the roadside a doorway or window aperture was visible. I think the material was afterwards removed for building purposes.

About the year 1873–'74, the Wormald quarter-section appears to have changed hands. At some time later the farm adjoining Wakefield on the south passed into the hands of Mr. Wormald, and became known as the Wormald farm.

The proprietors of section 18 (adjoining section 7 on the south) were Messrs. Skinner, Dodson and Dibben. The northeast quarter of the section belonged to the State Agricultural College. Concerning Mr. Skinner, I find the following entry in the Forty-seventh Annual Session of the Congregational Association (pp. 42, 43):

"Edward Skinner was born in Old Dalby, Leicestershire, England, August 24, 1837. He commenced preaching in England when eighteen years of age. Came to America May 14, 1873. Pastor of Madura (Wakefield) and Milford churches in Kansas from 1873 to December, 1879. Church was built in Milford during his pastorate, which was the first church in Kansas built without missionary aid. . . . Died at his home in Blue Rapids, Kan., January 8, 1901."

Mr. Skinner's homestead was the N½ of NW¼ of sec. 18. On the SE¼ Mr. A. Gaston appears to have been preceded by a settler named Isaac Jacobus.[90]

On section 19 the proprietors were Messrs. Mark Dodson, Emory White,

---

NOTE 89.—Mural tablet in the parish church, Over Stowey.

NOTE 90.—Marshall map, section 18, township 10, range 4; "With regard to the Jacobus land, I find that the first settler on that land was George Purinton, who lived on it (but I do not remember any house or remains of one). He sold it to Mr. Jacobus, who was a Congregational minister in Junction City, an old man, I believe. A[leck] Gaston bought it from him or his assigns. The other piece of the A[leck] Gaston place was first settled by H. W. Brown who sold it to Charles Purinton and by whom it was sold to Gaston."—J. P. Marshall.

and William Gaston. All these were of American birth. The Gaston family were Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians.[91]

The S½ of sec. 20 was owned by Messrs. Walters, Gates, Eustace and Burt. The Walters and Eustace families were English. The NE¼ of sec. 30 was owned by Messrs. Lumb (N½) and Wheelright (S½). They were Yorkshire people. It may deserve mention that Mr. Lumb (now residing at Wakefield) possesses a copy of the "Breeches Bible" printed in 1599, so-called from its curious rendering of Gen. 3:7, that has come down from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. No entries appear on sections 29 and 31. The W½ of sec. 32 has been mentioned as belonging to the State Agricultural College. The proprietors of the east half of the same sections were Messrs. Thurlow and Lawton. The N½ of NE¼ belonged to William Eustace, whose homestead was on section 20. Mr. Robert Sparrowhawk came out with a large party in April, 1871, and settled on the NE¼ of sec. 28.[92] His former home was at Aston under Wychwood (Oxfordshire). A curious passage in Florence of Worcester's Chronicle shows that this surname is a survival of an Anglo-Saxon proper name current in the Upper Thames valley in the days of Edward the Confessor The entry reads: "A. D. 1050. Spearhafoc [Sparrowhawk], abbot of Abingdon, was elected bishop of London, but was ejected by King Edward before consecration."[93] The circumstance is remarkable, because Anglo-Saxon proper names fell into complete disuse soon after the conquest. J. T. Tait and H. S. Walters also held claims on section 28.[94]

Settlers in township 10 south, range 3 east.

We shall begin our survey of the township with the northeast corner—the point nearest Wakefield. Here, on section 1, the NE¼ belonged to Mr. T. P. Pettigrew. Forty acres of the SE¼ adjoining the Spooner farm on the west appear to have belonged to John Spooner. On section 12 there were eight proprietors. The E½ of the NE¼, adjoining his quarter-section in Republican township, belonged to Mr. Alex. Maitland. Alexander Maitland was born May 7, 1838, in the parish of Auchterless, Aberdeen, Scotland, and came of a race of gentleman farmers who have lived on the same farms for over four hundred years. Before coming to this country he was in business in London. He was one of the founders of Wakefield and a director of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. In 1880 he removed to the Pacific coast. He died at his home in Seattle, August 30, 1905.* The E½ of the SE¼ of sec. 12, belonged to Rev. Richard Wake. With his permission I quote the following biographical sketch:

"I was born November 18, 1831, in a Hampshire village a few miles from Winchester. Enjoyed only such educational advantages as private schools of ordinary grade in that day afforded. In early manhood I entered the ministry of the Wesleyan Reform church, but after a year's labor in Northamptonshire, I came in 1854 to this country and united with the Methodist Episcopal church, of which I have been a minister until now."[95]

Without repeating the account of Mr. Wake's colonial experiences,

* Mrs. Isabella Maitland.

NOTE 91.—S. S. Gaston.

NOTE 92.—Plat-book, section 28, township 10, range 4 east.

NOTE 93.—Chronicle, A. D. 1050: *Spearha focus abbas Abbandoniensis Lundoniæ præsulatum suscepit, sed antequam esset consceratus, a rege Edwardo est ejectus.*

NOTE 94.—Plat-book, section 28.

NOTE 95.—Letter, December 18, 1907.

which has been given elsewhere, it will suffice to say that he remained with the colony through the period of its early struggles and bore no common part in its hardships. He was the founder of the Methodist church in Wakefield and a lifelong advocate of the temperance cause. Under the date of May 4, 1907, he says: "My brother and I are probably the only surviving members of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company, Mr. Maitland having died suddenly in Seattle in September, 1905, and Mr. Wormald some time previously in Chicago."

The W½ of NE¼ was the homestead of Benjamin Budden. The E½ and W½ of NW¼ belonged to Messrs. Eustace and Cowdery, respectively. R. N. Cowdery came from the neighborhood of Salisbury, in Wiltshire; Mr. Eustace was from Oxfordshire. The W½ of SE¼ belonged to Dr. Charles Hewitt; the E½ of SW¼ to Jason Withers; the W½ to Arthur Marshall, a brother of J. P. Marshall.[96] There were two Withers brothers, Ralph and Jason. Jason was a son-in-law of Mr. Cowdery.

On section 13, the S½ of SE¼ belonged to Mr. Kirby. The W½ of NW¼ was the property of Mr. J. P. Marshall. (This claim was originally purchased by Mr. James Marshall.) Mr. Marshall, to whom we owe the map upon which this account is largely based, was a native of New Alresford, in Hampshire. On section 24, the NW¼ belonged to D. H. Dudy, an American and a veteran of the civil war. The S½ of NE¼, adjoining Mr. Kirby's farm, belonged to an Englishman named Thomas Goosey. A son of Mr. Goosey died in Wakefield and was buried on his father's farm. On the S½ several of the names have been rewritten. The entries are: SE¼, E½, Gaston; W½, T. K. White; SW¼, E½, (William) Ware; W½, Buckle. T. K. White was an American; William Ware, a Devonshire man. The latter had lived for many years in the United States. On the NW¼ of section 25 appears the name Blatch; on the corresponding ¼ of section 36, R. Jones. Section 36 was school-land.

We shall now resume our survey from the northern boundary of the township, beginning with sections 2 and 3. On the former section the NE¼ was owned by Mr. O. R. Sweezey, an American. His claim was "jumped" by an adventurer named Jack Beatty. Both names appear on the Marshall map. The E½ of NW¼ belonged to Isaiah Jevons, a native of Staffordshire, but many years a resident of America. The W½ was owned by Mr. Lewin, but occupied by Alfred Yarrow. The S½ was divided into four eighties. The E½ and W½ of SE¼ were owned by Messrs. Shrives and Guy respectively. Both were from the county of Sussex.

Mr. Wm. Guy, to whom the writer is more extensively indebted than to any other informant, was a native of the parish of Ripe, near Hastings. He was born in 1833, the son of John and Elizabeth (Feist) Guy. He attended Tunbridge school from 1845 to 1847, was afterwards in Hastings, and then at Tunbridge Wells from March 1, 1850, to February, 1854, when he went to London and united with the Congregational church at Westminster Chapel, of which Rev. Samuel Martin[97] (died 1878) was pastor. He was in business at Oxford, 1856–'60, and later in Shrewsbury until the time of his coming to America. By residence on the south coast and later in the Thames

NOTE 96.—"The 'eighty' now owned by John Young was first settled by a man from Illinois, who built a sod house on the southeast corner. Jason Withers, I think, got it for a tree claim, and then my brother Arthur had it."—(J. P. Marshall.)

NOTE 97.—National Dictionary of Biog., vol. 36, pp. 294-295.

and Severn valleys, Mr. Guy acquired an extensive knowledge of a large part of England. Not only did he become well versed in a great variety of matters pertaining to London, but he was likewise well acquainted with the university town of Oxford, and with Shrewsbury,[98] the old capital of the Welsh border.

In the early days of the English settlement in Clay county Mr. Guy ran the ferry-boat which connected Wakefield with the townships east of the river. This afforded him unusual opportunity for becoming acquainted with the settlers. His extensive knowledge of places in England gave him a grasp of facts as well as a memory for persons not often equaled. It would be no exaggeration to say that he knew every one in and about Wakefield. To his personal recollections we owe the larger part of our definite information concerning the English settlers.

A few words may be added about his connection with the subsequent history of the town. He has been a deacon in the Madura Congregational church for about eighteen years. To this office he brought a wide knowledge of the Scriptures and an acquaintance with representative evangelical preaching such as few possess. In civil life he has been a member of the town council for five years, and was likewise mayor of Wakefield in 1889–'90.[99]

The following changes in the ownership of the SW¼ of sec. 2 took place before the Marshall map was drawn:

The W½ was first occupied by Humphrey Hughes, afterwards by a Mr. Phillips. The E½ of the quarter-section was taken up by John Cole, who came out on the Nebraska. It afterwards passed into the hands of Walter Parsons, whose sister married Mr. Phillips, the proprietor of the adjoining "eighty."[100] Both farms were eventually purchased by B. F. Jevons, son of Isaiah Jevons.

The N½ of sec. 3 was owned by Mr. Charles Ingram, a native of county Dorset, England. St. John's church, Episcopal, was built on the northeast corner of his estate. Mr. Ingram was a member of the executive committee of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society (see section IV). He sustained serious injuries in trying to rescue some haystacks from a prairie fire, and shortly afterwards returned to England and died there. Three "eighties" on the N½ of sec. 10 were owned by members of the Titcomb family (Mrs. Titcomb and two sons, Mark and Edwin). They were from London. The E½ of NE¼ belonged to John Bulmer. James Vincent homesteaded the S½ of SE¼ of sec. 10.[101] When the Marshall map was made the aforesaid quarter-section belonged to Thos. Holt and Richard Cawcutt. They were younger men, who, I am informed, came out in the same party with Mr. Vincent. Somewhat later the Holt farm became the property of Geo. Pearson. Both claims were afterwards purchased by J. K. Hammond.

On section 10, the NW¼ was occupied by Gilbert Jones, son of a chemist in Sloane street, Chelsea. The claim was railroad land and seems later to have reverted to the railroad company. Gilbert Jones went back to England, probably about 1874.[102]

NOTE 98.—"Shrewsbury was the chief place of an extensive and fertile district. The court of the marches of Wales was held there. In the language of the gentry many miles around the Wrekin, to go to Shrewsbury was to go to town."—(Macaulay, Hist. of Eng. ch. III, "England in 1685.")

NOTE 99.—W. Guy, personal reminiscences, April 3, 1908.

NOTE 100.—W. Guy, personal reminiscences. NOTE 101.—J. G. Billingham.

NOTE 102.—W. Guy.

The W½ of NW¼ of section 14 was owned by Mr. John Muston, the E½ of the same quarter by Edward Moore. The latter was associate pastor of the Madura Union church in the early days. They came over on the Nebraska in 1869. The Moore farm was afterwards purchased by Thomas Waller, who came from the Lancashire border, not far from Staleybridge.[103] The proprietor of the E½ of NE¼ of section 14 was James Marshall, a brother of J. P. Marshall. He married Miss Downey, a sister of Mrs. Alex. Maitland. He subsequently lived in St. Louis for about two years and then returned to London, England. The W½ of the same quarter-section was the homestead of Mr. J. P. Marshall. In a letter of recent date he says: "My homestead was the W½ of NE¼ of section 14, twp. 10, range 3, and my brother James had the E½ of the same quarter. He also bought the W½ of NW¼ of section 13. When he left I bought both pieces from him."[104]

Mr. Poppleton and his sons owned claims on the S½ of the section. The W½ of SW¼ belonged to Edward Jones, who came out with the Alsop party in 1870. Mr. Jones afterwards purchased the Batchelor farm on section 6, in Republican township. By far the largest tract of land in Gill township (section 23 and half of section 15) was owned, nominally at least, by parties named Southworth. It is probable that they were not actual settlers, and that the land eventually reverted to the company. The later proprietors of the Southworth section were C. M. Stone and J. M. McDougal[105]

On section 22 the E½ of NW¼ was owned by Mr. Gillett. He married a Miss Eustace. The SW¼, W½, was owned by John Pett, who came out in the winter of 1869–'70. The E½ belonged to J. W. Sampson, who was a member of the Alsop party. On the SE¼ the N½ was owned by Joseph Starling, the S½ by Charles Harris. Mr. Harris was a member of the Oxfordshire colony, and the neatly painted house which he erected on his claim was a landmark in the pioneer days.

The proprietors of the NW¼ of sec. 26 were Messrs. Poppleton and Exley; the NE¼, Messrs. Gaston and Buckle. E. T. Buckle afterwards traded his place in section 26 to James Young for the latter's place in township 9, section 34. On the S½ of the section the E½ of the SW¼ was owned by one of the Oxfordshire settlers named Cumber; the W½ was the property of James Clarke. John Chambers (of county Kent, England) owned the E½ of the SE¼. On section 28 three eighties were owned by Stephen Seal and members of his family, and one (E½ of NE¼) by Thos. Newell. The Seal family were from Northamptonshire originally, but came to this country from Surrey.[106]

Two eighties, forming the eastern third of section 21, were owned by Mr. Docking, and the S½ of sec. 4 belonged to members of the Haden family. The NE¼ of the same section was the property of Mr. Moutrie. The W½ belonged to an American settler named Lake. Mrs. Pearson, who came from Baltimore in November, 1870, owned the E½ of SE¼ of sec. 8. The services of the Episcopal church were first held in her house in the spring of 1871, and continued until the Rev. Mr. Hickox assumed charge. Mrs.

NOTE 103.—W. Guy.

NOTE 104.—J. P. Marshall (Wakefield, September 30, 1906).

NOTE 105.—Plat-book, section 23, township 10, range 3 east.

NOTE 106.—W. Seal.

Pearson removed to Wakefield in 1881, and resided at the corner of B street and Sixth avenue.[107] Definite information concerning other settlers in Gill township has not been procured.

Among the settlers in Union Township were Jasper Cowell, Mrs. Randall, and James Yarrow, all of whom had claims on section 28.[108] Benjamin Moutelle owned the farm previously occupied by the Laundys. T. C. Roscoe and S. B. Porter both had claims on section 22.

"Mr. S. B. Porter homesteaded the S½ of SW¼ of sec. 22, township 9, range 3, now owned by Mr. Sam Adams. Mr. Porter also owned the 160 acres south of his homestead. Some years later he sold out and went to Oregon."[109]

The homestead of Mr. Wm. Alsop, well known as a leading member of the party from the Welsh border, was on the S½ of NE¼ of sec. 24, in the same township.[110] A party of young men—L. J. Millard, J. Barron and John Shute—lived for some time on the Boutwell place, north of Wakefield.

Concerning Mr. R. Hamilton, of Athelstane township (N½ of NE¼ of sec. 26), the Plat-book makes the following statement: "One of the foremost men in this township was R. Hamilton, who formerly lived in Athelstane Ford, in Scotland. When the post-office was established at his house he named it Athelstane; and when the township was formed it took its name from the post-office. . . . The post-office was established in 1873."[111]

The settlement at Timber creek,[112] with its cemetery looking down on Wakefield from the highest point east of the river, is but little older than the English colony in years, and yet, so far as our national history is concerned, it belongs to a much older order of things. Its origin, like that of other pioneer beginnings in Kansas, must be traced to that mighty movement which peopled the valley of the Ohio and from thence flowed out into all the lands of the middle West. Nor should we forget that the struggle between competing systems north and south of Mason and Dixon's line brought free-state men to the creek valleys of Clay county, just as it brought John Brown to Osawatomie.* It was the triumph of the free-state cause in Kansas that precipitated the issues of three-quarters of a century of conflict, dating it, as I think we may, from the ordinance of 1787. Yet Wakefield is not without an historical interest of its own. American history has its sources in the local rather than in the general history of Great Britain. Hence the register of the settlers has to do with places and movements that belong quite as much to the background of American history as to the local history of England. To consider the various districts of old England in their mutual relations, we must think of the country as divided by a diagonal line extending from Chester to London. This boundary coincides very nearly with the ancient Roman highway of Watling street[113] in early

* "The Beecher Bible and Rifle Company still in the spirit hovers over Kansas like the chariots of fire round about Elisha."—E. H. Abbott, Religious Life in America, p. 213.

NOTE 107.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 108.—J. G. Cowell (Clay Center, January 25, 1908).

NOTE 109.—R. Alsop. NOTE 110.—W. Guy. NOTE 111.—Plat-book, p. 21.

NOTE 112.—I venture to include this brief digression on what may be termed the historic significance of the Wakefield Colony.—(W. J. C.)

NOTE 113.—The actual course of Watling street runs from Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury, to Dunstable, and thence to London, but since Essex is a Saxon land a line must be drawn eastward from Dunstable to the sea.

times between the Angles and Saxons and at a later period between the Saxons and the Danes.

The eastern half of middle England, lying beyond Watling street, is the native home of the literary language of the English-speaking world.[114] Originally the local dialect of Northamptonshire and southern Lincolnshire, it is now the common tongue of Britain, and, one almost might venture to say, the universal language of the younger nations of the earth. The town of Northampton, from its central position, became one of the meeting-places of the northern and southern English. Parliaments were on several occasions held here, notably that of 1328, which acknowledged the independence of Scotland. Here, too, was the ancestral home of the Washingtons. Lawrence Washington was twice mayor of Northampton in the reign of Henry VIII, and his descendants resided at Sulgrave manor till the time of Cromwell. Having lost their lands during the Puritan revolution, they subsequently occupied the humble cottage at Little Brington (six miles from Northampton) which still attracts the attention of the American pilgrim.[115]

South of the Thames we find the land of the West Saxons, with its old capital at Winchester. This district, differing widely in speech from middle England, was the immediate dominion of the line of kings to which Alfred the Great belonged. The influence of the Thames valley, and more especially of London, tended from the first to draw the main body of Saxon territory into the general life of England. The West Saxon speech held its ground as a literary language from the days of King Alfred (died 901) till John of Trevisa, in 1387, and is still represented by the rustic dialects of Somerset and the adjoining counties.

In the southwest, local feeling was much in evidence during the wars of the Puritan revolution. Puritanism, instead of being generally diffused through the country, was almost characteristic of the larger towns. This was not without its influence upon the course of events in the great civil war. Places like Plymouth and Taunton, defended by their own citizens, seemed like puritan communities in the midst of a country not fully alive to the issue.[116] Forty years later the same union of local feeling and puritan sentiment reappears in the ill-starred rebellion of the duke of Monmouth. Those of his adherents who were transported were consigned to the West Indies, because in New England or New Jersey they would be sure to find sympathizers. With but little change in scene and circumstance, the part

---

NOTE 114.—"The East Midland (dialect) became the language of literature, the standard English. Becoming 'in cloisters on the Nen and Welland the fullest receiver of French words, and the largest accepter of the changes, and especially in Robert of Brunne's work, it took hold of Cambridge, and then of Oxford, and spoken and written in these centers of learning, crept down conquering to the south, and finally seized on London.'"—(Stopford Brooke)

NOTE 115.—W. D. Howells, Certain Delightful English Towns, c. XIII. "Northampton and the Washington Country."

NOTE 116.—"The Restoration had produced no effect on the temper of the Taunton men. They had still continued to celebrate the happy day on which the siege laid to their town by the royal army had been raised; and their stubborn attachment to the old cause had excited so much fear and resentment at Whitehall that by a royal proclamation their moat had been filled up and their wall demolished to its foundation." (Macaulay, History of England, c. V, p. 542.) In speaking of Taunton as a walled town, Macaulay seems to have been misled by the terms of the royal proclamation. Its resistance becomes the more remarkable when we learn that the defences actually consisted of nothing more than earthworks (with palisades) and the loopholed walls of the houses. (See Gardiner, History of the Great Civil War, vol. II, p. 98.) "When Blake defended Taunton, he was not merely defending a strong military post which military needs required should be defended; he was something like the defender of a free city; he was the defender of a town which had a character and an interest of its own; he was the leader of burghers who knew for what they were fighting and whose hearts were thoroughly in the cause."—(Freeman, English Towns and Districts, p. 117.)

which the Southwest played in those conflicts might seem almost like a chapter from the beginnings of New England. This is not without significance, both for the English settlers from that region and for those American families that claim a west country origin.[117]

The intermediate district, lying for the most part north of the Thames, consists of two border lands, the forgotten boundary between the Angles and the Saxons, and the long-contested frontier between the Saxons and the Welsh. London, "a nation of six millions that chooses to call itself a town," is situated near the southeast corner of this part of England. Oxford holds a central position not unlike that of Northampton in the East Midlands. On the western line Shrewsbury must be accorded a similar importance. A large party of colonists came to Wakefield from the Thames valley, and another from the Welsh border.

The country north of the Humber links the history of England to that of Scotland, to the Dano-Norwegian kingdom of Dublin, and to the lands of the Scandinavian north—a subject too large to receive even the briefest treatment here. More immediate interest attaches to the fact that Wakefield bears the name of a Yorkshire town, the former home of one of its founders. Another point of contact is afforded by the "Geneva version" of the Bible,[118] a copy of which is owned by W. E. Lumb, one of our settlers from the north country. This version was translated by the English exiles who fled to Geneva in the days of Queen Mary. William Whittingham,[119] the principal translator, born at Chester about the year 1524, was, both on his father's and his mother's side, of Lancashire descent. At Geneva he succeeded John Knox, the celebrated Scottish reformer, as pastor of the English church, and after his return to England he became Dean of Durham. The Geneva version was the popular Bible of the seventeenth century. Its adoption of the verse divisions made it useful for reference. Its smaller size gave it immense advantage over editions that were printed exclusively in folio, and at the same time the "helps" with which it was furnished put the reader in possession of the results of the best biblical scholarship of that day. The Geneva version was, as the citations in the Bradford History show, the Bible of the Pilgrim Fathers. In the political tendency of its annotations we trace at least one of the sources of the principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

VII.—CONCLUSION.

Our survey of the early history of the Wakefield colony closes with the year 1874. In that year Kansas was devastated by grasshoppers, and the settlers felt, not without reason, that the cup of their misfortunes was full. We shall give an account of the fate of the colony in general, together with brief notices of the subsequent fortunes of the settlers.

NOTE 117.—Genealogical and Historical Record of the Descendants of Wm. Locke, of Woburn, pp. 342-346; the Dedham Branch of the Avery Family in America, p. 12.

NOTE 118.—We give the title-page of Mr. Lumb's Bible:—"The Bible: Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diverse Languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. And also a most profitable Concordance for the readie finding out of anything in the same conteined. JOSHUA 1: 8. Let not this Booke of the Lawe depart out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night that thou mayest observe and doe according to all that is written therein; for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good successe. Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker Printers to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1599. *Cum gratia et privilegio Reginæ Maiestatis.*"

NOTE 119.—National Dictionary of Biog., "Whittingham," vol. LXI. pp. 150-153.

The two chief drawbacks with which the colonists had to contend were the dry continental climate, so different from that of England, and the adverse economic conditions. In addition to these there were also the many hardships incident to pioneer life.

The change from an insular to a continental climate has often proved one of the severest tests, not only of colonial enterprise but also of military endurance. One need scarcely mention the sufferings of the British soldiers during the Crimean war (winter of 1854–'55). Life in the heart of a continent has always been full of surprises to those who were born and brought up on islands or projecting coast lands. Herodotus, who visited the shores of the Black sea in the fifth century, B. C., has thus described his impressions of the climate of southern Russia:

"All this country which I have been speaking of is subject to such a severe winter that for eight months the frost is so intolerable that if you pour water on the ground you will not make mud, but if you light a fire you will make mud."[120]

This is perhaps the earliest description of a continental climate that has come down to us. Even the tone of exaggeration is not without interest, since it shows how strongly the contrast was felt. We should not, however, forget that continental visitors, from the ancient Roman historians to the American naturalist, John Burroughs, have rendered a similarly unfavorable judgment upon the insular climate of Britain.[121] Historical interest, in this particular, attaches to the story of Wakefield because it links the experience of our own times to that of the first colonists in Virginia and New England. Difference of climate was one of the most serious drawbacks with which the path-breakers of colonization had to contend. A striking illustration of this fact is afforded by the story of the Popham colony in 1607.[122]

"The cause of the failure of many early colonies is now evident. The old voyagers were ignorant of the great difference in the climates of Europe and America; they expected to find similar conditions on both sides of the Atlantic. They were further led into error through the fact that their explorations were made in the summer, when the climatic conditions of the two sides of the North Atlantic most nearly resemble one another. For instance, [George] Weymouth, who visited Maine in the summer, found a temperature which resembled that of southern France, but the colonists who came over in consequence of his favorable reports found a winter temperature like that of northern Norway."[123]

NOTE 120.—Herodotus, book IV, sec. 28: The "Scythia" of Herodotus includes the modern provinces of South Russia and Little Russia.

NOTE 121.—"*Coelum,*" says Tactitus, "*crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest.* The sky is deformed by clouds and frequent rains; but the cold is never extremely rigorous." (Vit. Agr. c. 12.) "There is one thing they do not have in England that we can boast of at home, and that is a good masculine type of weather; it is not even feminine; it is childish and puerile, though I am told that occasionally there is a full-grown storm. But I saw nothing but petulant little showers and prolonged juvenile sulks. The clouds have no reserve, no dignity; if there is a drop of water in them (and there are generally several drops out it comes. The prettiest little showers march across the country in summer, scarcely bigger) than a street-watering cart; sometimes by getting over the fence one can avoid them, but they keep the haymakers in a perpetual flurry. There is no cloud scenery, as with us; no mass and solidity, no height nor depth. The clouds seem low, vague and vapory—immature, indefinite, inconsequent tial, like youth."—(John Burroughs, Fresh Fields, pp. 106, 107.)

NOTE 122.—It was believed, on the testimony of those who had spent the previous summer in New England, that the country would produce nutmegs (not the wooden variety), and other tropical spices. "On May 31, 1607, a fleet under Geo. Popham, brother of the chief justice, and Raleigh Gilbert, sailed for the coast of what is now the state of Maine. They landed at the mouth of the Kennebec, built a fort, and explored the country, They found no gold; the natives proved hostile; and the winter was severe beyond anything they had ever conceived. They seized the first opportunity to abandon the enterprise, and returned home in the following spring." — (Channing, Student's History, pp. 52, 53.)

NOTE 123.— Channing, Student's History, pp. 52, 53.

One hesitates to draw too close a parallel between the Wakefield colony and the first settlements on the Atlantic coast. Yet it will be remembered that Rev. Richard Wake visited Kansas in a year when conditions most nearly resembled those with which he was familiar in Illinois.[124] On every hand there was the evidence of an abundant rainfall, and the grass, even on the high prairie, was exceedingly luxuriant. In the presence of such facts there was no occasion to suspect the possible differences of climate that might come with an additional elevation of six or eight hundred feet, and a position considerably nearer the Rocky Mountain plateau.

The glowing accounts issued by immigration companies and the sharp practice often connected with real-estate deals were among the grievances of the colonists. The following incident is vouched for by a family well known among the English settlers: On landing in New York they were met by the local agent of the National Land Company, who endeavored to drive a bargain with them for property in the West. Failing to effect the transaction he gave them a sealed letter to the company's agent at Chicago. *En route* one of the members of the family said to the head of the house: "Father, I would n't carry a letter from one unknown person to another with whom you are no better acquainted; why don't you find out what is in the letter?" The suggestion was acted upon, and the contents of the letter were found to be as follows:

"DEAR N——: S—— and family think of going to Kansas. Fix them, and remember me. Yours, etc., (—— ——)"[125]

The greatest drawback to the colony was found in the general economic conditions. The country had not recovered from the civil war. Money was scarce and commodities of all kinds expensive. Means of communication were very inadequate, and the markets of St. Louis and Chicago were only on the threshold of their development. There was no local demand for agricultural products and the Kansas City market was easily glutted. The lavish expenditures of English capital in Clay, Geary (Davis) and Dickinson counties had no effect on the country at large. My father once said that during 1869–'70 a quarter of a million of English money was spent in the district just mentioned, where one could n't have collected a million cents three years later. This estimate is confirmed by others.[126]

In 1874–'75 Kansas was devastated by grasshoppers—a species of insect much resembling the migratory locust of the Orient. "This visitation of grasshoppers or locusts was the most serious in the history of the state. They reached from the Platte river (Nebraska) on the north to northern Texas on the south, and penetrated as far east as Sedalia, Mo. Their eggs were deposited in favorable localities in this vast territory. The young hatched the next spring did great damage to early crops, but in June, having passed into the wing state, they rose into the air and flew back to the northwest, whence the parent swarms had come the year before."[127]

In Ebbutt's Life in Kansas there is an account of the devastation wrought in Morris county. This was about a fortnight, or possibly three weeks, after their appearance in the Republican valley. In the Wakefield neigh-

NOTE 124.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, November 8, 1894.

NOTE 125.—W. Seal.

NOTE 126.—J. P. Marshall.

NOTE 127.—See Wilder's Annals of Kansas, August 7, 1874.

borhood they consumed the unharvested crops, garden vegetables and the fruit and foliage of the trees. My father, together with Messrs. Billingham and Pettigrew, worked far into the night cutting their corn (*i. e.*, maize), it having been discovered that the insects would not touch dry fodder while green foliage was available. We had a small peach orchard just beginning to bear fruit. The grasshoppers stripped it bare, even gnawing the tender bark from the shoots, so that here and there a naked peach-stone stood alone on its dry stem. In the following spring (1875) their destructive work began as early as May, and in Wilder's Annals of Kansas it is recorded that Topeka was swarming with grasshoppers from June 7th to 16th of that year.

It was, however, after the grasshopper year that matters were seen in their severest guise. About that time my father described conditions as they then were through the columns of one of the West of England papers:

"Five years is certainly long enough to give a thing a trial. . . . When I tell you that scores of persons who went out west with capital and every advantage would be glad enough to occupy a laborer's cottage and eat a laborer's food in England, you will know that they have been grievously disappointed. It is quite true that land is very cheap and that meat can be had at almost a nominal price. . . . When lecturers talk about the cheapness of things it would be well if they would also tell the cost of raising the crop mentioned and the average price paid to the producer. I see by one of the letters, copies of which were circulated by the lecturers, that beef can be bought at 1½*d.* per lb. Where, then, can be the farmer's profit for raising cattle, and feeding them through the fearful winters, if they are afterwards disposed of at such prices? A good bullock should weigh 100 lbs. per quarter, or a total of 400 lbs., which, at the price named, would amount to 2*l.* 10*s.* for the whole animal. If these things were considered over, it would be seen just where the shoe pinches; and that many years of toil, hardship and disappointment must be endured before the prospects presented can be realized. No one looking on can tell half of the real facts, and those who have gone through it all find words fail to express their full meaning."[128]

Disappointment was not peculiar to the English colonists. An American settler, writing to the *Courier Journal*, of Louisville, Ky., says: "This state is a fraud on a grand scale." His remarks apply both to the conditions then existing in Kansas and to the methods employed by colonizing agencies. His description is decidedly pessimistic: "The people are destitute and there is no money. The women are half-clothed and the men are barefooted on the streets."[129]

The misfortunes of the sister colony at Victoria were much greater than those of Wakefield. Mr. Grant died in the early days of the settlement, and with his decease the moving spirit of the enterprise was gone. "Misfortune followed misfortune. Thousands of stock died. The colonists were discouraged and moved away, abandoning their homes and lands. Their places were filled by a large party from southern Russia."

Mr. R. T. Batchelor, who visited Victoria in the winter of 1897–'98, gives the following account of the church erected by the founder of the Victoria colony:

"Our first visit was to the beautiful little church erected by Mr. Grant, at his own expense, in the year 1876, and which was not completed when he died. The first time it was used was for his funeral service. A handsome marble tablet inside the building and over the entrance commemorates his

---

Note 128.— J. Chapman.

Note 129.— A. W. Grisman, about 1879. J. P. Marshall.

death.[130] He was buried just west of the church and his grave is surrounded by a neat fence which has been kept up and cared for by a few of his old friends who still cherish his memory. The church was practically abandoned for many years, as those who were interested were few and too much discouraged to keep up and maintain the services. Lightning struck the building and did much damage. The Russian children made the church a playground. The fine organ was damaged by wet and ill-use. The stained-glass windows were broken and desolation prevailed."[131]

This state of desolation was not, however, suffered to continue permanently and, as Mr. Batchelor tells us: "To-day the church appears as one of the most beautiful Episcopal churches for its size in the diocese."

A few words may be added concerning the subsequent fortunes of some of the settlers mentioned in the earlier sections of this narrative.

Rev. Richard Wake resided for some time in Topeka. He afterwards removed to Salt Lake City, where he took active part in the state temperance movement. Mr. Alexander Maitland went to Seattle, in the state of Washington. E. M. Fulcher, who afterwards owned the Maitland farm on section 12, Gill township, went to South Africa, but later returned to this country and settled in San Francisco. Mr. T. P. Pettigrew, well known as the secretary of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society, removed to Virginia and resided at or near Richmond. Rev. W. S. Crouch, in the early days proprietor of a timber claim on section 30, in Republican township, has been for a number of years pastor of the Congregational church at Maplehill, Kan. William Allaway, at one time proprietor of the James Gibbon farm, removed to Clay Center. John Brett also went to Clay Center. He died there, and his widow married a Mr. Bradbury.[132] John Farrington Alsop, son of Wm. Alsop, of Caine's creek, left Wakefield for Denver, Colo. He was never heard of again. Felix James Pitters, better known at Wakefield as Jim Pitters, enlisted in the United States army, and fell with General Custer at the battle of Little Big Horn, June 25, 1876.[133] Through the courtesy of Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, we are enabled to insert the following military record:

"War Dept. 1199863. "THE MILITARY SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, March 19, 1906.

"Respectfully returned to Mr. Geo. W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kan.

"It is shown by the records that one Felix James Pitter (not found as James Pitters), private, troop I, Seventh cavalry, was enlisted September 4, at St. Louis Barracks, Mo., and that he was killed June 25, 1876, in the battle of the Little Big Horn river, Montana territory.

"It is stated in the records that this soldier was born in Alresford, England. F. C. AINSWORTH, *Military Secretary.*"
"(M. S. O. 72-1.)"

The Cator brothers, likewise members of the Wakefield colony, settled in Texas. Robert Cator subsequently removed to the Pacific slope. His brother, James H. Cator, is now a prosperous cattleman at Zulu, Tex.[134]

Many of those who left Wakefield in the early days went back to England. Among the number of ex-colonists were the following: Rev. Joseph Binns, who came out on the steamer Nebraska in 1869, afterwards returned

NOTE 130.—April 26, 1878, George Grant died at Victoria, near Hays City, aged 64.—(Wilder's Annals of Kansas.)

NOTE 131.—Wakefield *Advertiser*, January 21, 1898.

NOTE 132.—R. O. Mackintosh. NOTE 133.—J. P. Marshall. NOTE 134.—H. W. C. Budden.

to England and became a presiding elder in the Midlands.[135] John Deere, who came out on the same ship, went back to Great Britain, and became proprietor of an ironmonger's business (hardware store) near the Elephant and Castle (London).[136] During his subsequent visit in England my father on one occasion met Mr. Deere on the platform of the railway station at Oxford. Mr. Laundy, the first proprietor of the Moutelle farm (N½ of NE¼ of section 34, in Union township), was also one of those who returned to England.[137] Another ex-colonist was James Marshall, brother of Mr. J. P. Marshall (see section VI).

We have already noticed that Mr. Charles Ingram, one of the members of the executive committee of the Agricultural and Literary Society, also returned to England. His property in Gill township, section 3, was afterwards purchased by Mr. F. W. Cornell. Gilbert Jones, whose claim was the NW¼ of sec. 11, in the same township, also returned to England, probably about the year 1874.[138] His land seems to have reverted to the company. Uriah Handley (from Cambridgeshire), whose claim was the SW¼ of sec. 27, in Exeter township, afterwards resided near Bath, England, and engaged in the mining and manufacture of fuller's earth.[139] Another of the ex-colonists who went back to Great Britain was Mr. L. J. Millard (claim SW¼ of sec. 13, Athelstane township).[140] Some years later my father, during his stay in England, met Mr. Millard at Chippenham, in North Wiltshire.[141]

Among the members of the Oxfordshire colony who returned to their native land were Messrs. Gillett (E½ of NW¼ of sec. 22, Gill township), Charles Harris (S½ of SE¼), Cumber (E½ of SW¼ of sec. 26), the Clinch brothers, and Mr. and Mrs. Jardine. Mr. Jardine was a son-in-law of Mr. James Eustace, and came out in the steamship City of Washington, in April, 1870. He was afterwards connected with the firm of Huntley & Palmer,[142] biscuit manufacturers at Reading. Mr. Thomas Beldham informs me, on the authority of Frank Harris, who visited his old home some five years ago, that the Clinch brothers have prospered since their return to the mother country, and that Duncan Church is now a well-to-do veterinary surgeon in London. The Buckle family remained at Wakefield for nearly twenty years, and then removed to Alberta, British America.

The story of the Wakefield colony is but a minor circumstance in the spread of the English-speaking race throughout the world. It has, however, for those who took part in it, the same interest which a private soldier's recollections have for the battles in which he fought. As we have seen, the experiences of the English colonists of 1869–'70 often remind us of like circumstances in the history of the first settlements in Virginia and New England. The reason for this must be viewed from the standpoint of a larger historic outlook. Unlike the American settlers they had no well-defined idea of pioneer life. They did not realize the greatness of the task that was before them. To the Americans, on the other hand, the "Great West" had always been a field for enterprise. The struggle with the wilderness was something with which they and their fathers were equally

---

NOTE 135.—W. Guy.

NOTE 136.—W. Guy.

NOTE 137.—W. Guy.

NOTE 138.—W. Guy.

NOTE 139.—R. O. Mackintosh.

NOTE 140.—Plat-book, Athelstane township.

NOTE 141.—J. Chapman.

NOTE 142.—J. Chapman.

familiar.[143] In this way the colonial life, its hardships and its achievements, had become a part of the national consciousness. No similar influence, however, has determined the inner developments of modern England. In this connection I cannot forbear quoting a passage from Prof. J. R. Seeley, which, although it refers in the first instance to the newer lands of the British empire, may be applied, in all its characteristic features, to the settlements of Englishmen in the United States:

"People cannot change their abodes, pass from an island to a continent, from the fiftieth degree of north latitude to the tropics or the southern hemisphere, from an ancient community to a new colony, from vast manufacturing cities to sugar plantations or to lonely sheepwalks where aboriginal savage tribes still wander, without changing their ideas and habits and ways of thinking—nay, without somewhat modifying in the course of a few generations their physical type. We know already that the Canadian and the Victorian are not quite like the Englishman; do we suppose then that in the next century, if the colonial population has become as numerous as that of the mother country, assuming that the connection has been maintained and has become closer, England itself will not be very much modified and transformed?"[144]

The interest which the story of Wakefield possesses is not merely local in character. It is an illustration, at first hand, of the movements and changes that are going on everywhere in the English-speaking world.

APPENDIX I.—Notes on the History of Wakefield.

Rev. Wm. Todd and the Madura Mission.

Madura, India, was from very early times one of the chief seats of Hindoo paganism. Rev. Wm. Todd began work there as a missionary of the American board in July, 1834, being associated with Rev. Henry R. Hoisington. The mission celebrated its jubilee in 1884, when a small volume was published, giving the history of the mission. There are now three native protestant churches in the city—Madura station, West Gate, Madura, and East Madura. The statistics given in 1884 for the entire district were: "Stations, 11; churches, 35; communicants, 2817." In 1901 the mission reckoned 4911 church members and 17,276 adherents.

Mention of Mr. Todd's missionary career may be found in Brown's Propagation of Christianity, vol. 3, p. 11 (Edinburgh and London, 1854); in Anderson's History of the Missions of the American Board in India (Boston, 1874), map, pp. 194, 195, Todd, Rev. Wm., 171, 175, 196. Later records of the mission: American Madura Mission, Jubilee volume, 1834–1884 (S. P. C. K. Press, Madras, 1886), account of Mr. Todd, p. 52; In the Madura Country, Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the American Madura Mission, 1900, ed. W. M. Zumbro.

The city of Madura dates from about 500 B. C. From that period until 1064 A. D. it was the seat of the Pandian kings. Megasthenes, about 300

Note 143.—During the first half of the nineteenth century the colonization of the West was the really creative factor of American history. "The votes of the states west of the mountains elected Jefferson in 1800 and Madison in 1812, and gave Jackson his preponderance over Adams in 1824. The West was at this time what the colonists had been half a century earlier—a thriving, bustling, eager community, with a keen sense of trade and little education." In 1828 "Jackson swept every Southern and Western state and received six hundred and fifty thousand popular votes, against five hundred thousand for Adams."—(Hart, The Formation of the Union, pp. 261, 262.)

Note 144.—The Expansion of England, p. 13.

B. C., makes mention of the city, and one of its kings sent an embassy to Augustus Cæsar.[145] After having been conquered by the Mohammedans under Malik Kafur, 1310 A. D., the native kingdom was restored in 1559 by Vivanatha. The greatest of his descendants, Tirumala Nayakka (1623-'59), restored and beautified the great temple and built a magnificent palace. The kingdom came under British control in 1758 and was annexed in 1801.

The Madura district is a veritable stronghold of Hinduism. From time immemorial Madura has been the religious capital of the southern extremity of India. Here is the temple of the great goddess Meenatchi, the presiding deity of the city. "This temple covers 14½ acres, and is in size the third, and in magnificence and upkeep the first temple in all India, and has hardly its equal anywhere among the ethnic religions. A part of the temple is given up to the worship of Siva, who, under the name of Sockalingam, is the consort of Meenatchi. Meenatchi was originally an ancient queen of the Madura country, and on her death became the presiding demoness of of the devil-worship of the district. Later, when the Brahmans came to southern India, the new cult absorbed the old by marrying Meenatchi to Siva and giving her a place in the Hindu pantheon."[146]

NOTES ON THE PIONEERS OF THE REPUBLICAN VALLEY.

John P. King died at his home east of Wakefield, May 22, 1906, aged seventy-two years. He was born in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, December 24, 1833, where he lived until early manhood. In 1854 he removed to Illinois. "The next spring he came to Pottawatomie county, Kansas, and after spending the summer there he came to Clay county, ... where he has resided ever since. At first he lived in a little house south of Chet Flemming's home, but soon moved to the farm where he spent his life. . . . About forty years ago Mr. King united with the Methodist Episcopal church, of which he remained a faithful and earnest member. . . . On the 5th of January, 1859, he was united in marriage to Miss Mary Bowers. To this union three children were born. His companion, one daughter—Mrs. John Male—a foster-daughter and grandchildren remain to mourn his loss. The funeral services were conducted by Reverend Lacey at the Timber Creek schoolhouse, on Wednesday afternoon, where a large concourse of relatives, friends and lifelong neighbors gathered to pay their last respects to the honored dead, after which the remains were interred in the Timber Creek cemetery. The bereaved ones have the sympathy of all."

"Jeremiah Younkin, a former resident of Clay county, an early settler here, died Monday, February 25, at his home on Timber creek, with a complication of diseases incident to old age. The deceased was seventy-nine years old, and the funeral occurred on Wednesday at eleven o'clock A. M., and the remains were laid to rest in the Milford cemetery. The deceased leaves a wife, two sons and three daughters, and one sister, Mrs. D. H. Myers of this city. The deepest sympathy of a host of friends of the afflicted family is extended to them in their sad hour of bereavement."—(Clay Center *Times*, March 7, 1907.)

NOTE 145.—Strabo, book XV, c. 1, 4 (p. 74) and 73 (pp. 118, 119): "Roman copper coins of the smallest value have been found in such numbers at Madura as to suggest that a Roman colony was settled at that place. They come down to the time of Arcadius and Honorius (400 A. D.)." —(V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 337.)

NOTE 146.—Dr. J. P. Jones, in Sixty-sixth Ann. Rept. of the Madura Mission, pp. 88, 89.

Somerset county, Pennsylvania,[147] the old home of our Timber creek pioneers, seems to have been colonized soon after the opening of the highways[148] connecting Pittsburg with Philadelphia. "It is probable that, not long after these roads were opened, traders and pioneers found their way to this county, and made settlement; but their names and adventures, if any, have not been recorded." Somerset, the county-seat, originally called Brunerstown, was laid out in 1795 and incorporated as a borough in 1804. A lithographed view of the town, as it must have appeared in the first half of the nineteenth century, is given in Rupp's History and Topography (p. 565). The first wave of population appears to have been Scotch-Irish, but by 1830 the German element had come to predominate. Eighty years before, at the time of the organization of Cumberland county (of which Somerset county formed a part), Scotch-Irish names greatly exceeded the German. "When the county (Cumberland) was erected, in 1750, it contained 807 taxable inhabitants, and was represented in the assembly by Joseph Armstrong and Hermannus Alrichs. Robert McCoy, Benjamin Chambers, David McGaw, James McIntire and John McCormick were the commissioners to select a site for a courthouse."[149]

Orleans county, Vermont,[150] was the old home of the Avery family, of Caine's creek. Lying as it does on the Canadian border, it was settled at a comparatively late date, and long retained the character of a pioneer community. The town of Lowell was organized under the name of Kellyvale, then in Chittenden county, March 5, 1787. In the town of Troy the first settler was Capt. Moses Elkins, brother of Josiah Elkins, of Peacham, "a noted hunter and Indian trader," who moved thither in the summer of 1797. Many settlers left during the War of 1812, and even as late as 1837 the remembrance of border warfare was revived by the Canadian insurrection.

THE RICHES, OF OVER STOWEY.

Our attention has already been drawn to the fact that the genealogies both of the Locke and the Avery families claim for them a west country origin.[151] Partly, therefore, for its local associations, and partly because it it serves to illustrate the divergence of American from British nationality, I venture to include a brief account of the Rich family.

This surname first appears in the person of Edmund Rich (died 1240), better known in church history as St. Edmund of Abingdon. Whether as townsmen or yeomen, its bearers seemed to have belonged to the substantial middle class. For several centuries a family of this name was settled at Stowey, in the Quantocks, and by local tradition they are said to have been lords of the manor in that neighborhood. The surname Rich's Holford[152]

NOTE 147.—Hist. Coll. of State of Pennsylvania, Phila., 1848 (Geo. W. Gorton), Somerset Co., pp. 615–619.

NOTE 148.—Washington's road in 1754; Bouquet's road in 1758.

NOTE 149.—Cumberland county was separated from Lancaster county by the act of January 27, 1750; Bedford from Cumberland, March 9, 1771; Somerset from Bedford by the act of April 17, 1795.—(Hist. Coll. of Penn., p. 615.)

NOTE 150.—See Vermont Hist. Magazine, vol. III (1877), Orleans county, pp. 31–402.

NOTE 151.—Geneal. and Hist. Record of the Descendants of Wm. Locke, of Woburn, pp. 342–346; The Dedham Branch of the Avery Family in America, p. 12.

NOTE 152.—The addition of such a surname as, for example, in the case of Bovey Tracey, Bishop's Lydeard, etc., invariably shows the proprietor, or the dignitary, thus indicated to have been lord of the manor.

still attaches to a place on the east slope of the Quantock hills. During the past two centuries the proprietors of 'Cross' were:

Samuel Rich I, and his wife Joan, who are commemorated on the mural tablet in the aisle[153] of the parish church at Over Stowey. They lived in the reigns of William III and Queen Anne, and are mentioned as the grandparents of James Rich, esq., who died April 15, 1815.

Samuel Rich II (died 1765), son of the preceding, and his wife Betty, two sons, and a daughter named Anstice, are buried in the family vault near the porch of the parish church. He was born two years before the legislative union of Scotland, and lived through the momentous half-century which saw the creation of the British empire.

Thomas Rich, esq., (1735-1813), who succeeded his father in 1765, was proprietor of 'Cross' for forty-eight years. A younger contemporary of his was Thomas Poole[154] (1765-1837), the friend of the poet Coleridge. In 1796 Mr. Poole secured for Coleridge a cottage in the village of Nether Stowey,[155] and the poet resided there until he went to Germany in 1798. A curious incident connected with the invasion threatened by Napoleon Bonaparte likewise belongs to the times of Thomas Rich. The ancient hill fort of Dowsborough,[156] enclosing, it is said, some ten acres, overlooks the twin villages of Stowey. In the long ago it must have been the rallying-point for the tribe that inhabited those parts. When, therefore, the anticipated landing of the French became a matter of daily anxiety,[157] it was resolved by the people of the district, to retire to Dowsborough and prepare to resist the invader. All the wagons in the neighborhood were chartered to convey the families of the inhabitants "with their belongings to the ancient hilltop refuge on the first warning of danger."[158]

James Rich, esq., a younger brother of Thomas Rich, proprietor from 1813 to 1815, was the last of the elder branch of the family. At his death the estate was divided among all descendants of his grandfather.[159] He gave to the parish church of Over Stowey the massive brass chandelier which hangs in the nave of the church, and it was lighted for the first time at his funeral. By the terms of his will the house and farm at Cross passed to Edmund Rich, of Butcombe, near Bristol.[160] It is said that James Rich met my maternal great-grandfather by chance at a fair, having previously been unaware of his existence, and that he was so much pleased with the younger

---

NOTE 153.—The church consists of the nave and one aisle only.

NOTE 154.—National Dict. of Biog., vol. XLVI, pp. 104, 105; Mrs. Henry Sanford, Thomas Poole and his Friends. 2 vols., 1888.

NOTE 155.—It was during Coleridge's stay in Nether Stowey that the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" was composed.

NOTE 156.—The elevation of Dowsborough is about 1100 feet.

NOTE 157.—Cf. Coleridge's "Fears in Solitude,' which, refers to the threatened invasion of the French in 1796-'98.

NOTE 158.—Beatrix F. Cresswell, The Quantock Hills, their Combes and Villages, p. 89.

NOTE 159.—The disappearance of large proprietors who by descent and social position ranked with the gentry, as well as that of the lesser yeoman—freeholders, was one of the changes which distinguished the England of revolutionary times from the England of the earliest colonial period. In the days of Cromwell the English were to a great extent a nation of yeoman freeholders.—"From the early years of the eighteenth century this class began to disappear, and by the end of the century it was almost extinct."—(Lecky, History of England, vol. 1, p. 557.)

NOTE 160.—About this time another member of the Rich family, Claudius James Rich, of Bristol, was engaged in discovering, or, to speak more precisely, definitely ascertaining, the sites of ancient Nineveh and Babylon.

man that he took him back to Stowey, showed him the house and lands at Cross and asked him how he would like to own that property some day. James Rich, esq., died April 15, 1815; his funeral was held at night in the parish church, and all the heirs, more than a hundred in number, were assembled to hear the reading of his will.

Edmund Rich, who took possession of the house at Cross in 1815, was followed by a son and a grandson, each bearing the name of Samuel. George Lansdowne, esq., afterwards of Hock Pitt, who married a daughter of Edmund Rich, was the first of our relations to come to this country. He traveled through the Northern states, and during his stay in the West was much annoyed by the familiarity of the *friendly* Indians. They would come into the house unbidden and help themselves to whatever happened to strike their fancy. Traveling facilities were in a backward state, and on one occasion Mr. Lansdowne made the trip from Albany to New York in a cutter. He was accompanied in his travels by the son of a Mr. Keene, of Banwell, in the Mendips.[161] David Keene, a younger brother, I believe, was afterwards rector of St. John's church, Milwaukee, and his son a classmate of President Roosevelt at Harvard.[162]

APPENDIX II.—The Marshall Maps.[163]

THE FIRST MAP.

The first map is entitled "A Map of Junction City, Kansas, and Adjacent Territory." It was published by the Davis County Emigration (sic) Society, of which S. M. Strickler was president and A. C. Pierce secretary. The reverse side of the map gave a prospectus of the advantages of Junction City and the surrounding district.

The map shows the proposed course of the Republican Valley railroad as originally planned, and also a proposed line to Omaha running north by way of Five Mile creek. Other points of interest are, (1) southeastern Clay county, including the Wakefield neighborhood, (2) the military reservation of Fort Riley, and (3) the hilly country south of the Kansas river, extending from Lyons creek to Humboldt. The last-named district has been identified with the northern boundary of Quivira, invaded by the Spanish conqueror Coronado in 1541. The military reservation of Fort Riley contains the ruins of Pawnee, including the capitol building in which the territorial legislature met on July 2, 1855. The map extends as far west as the section on which St. John's church stands (township 10 south, range 3 east). The creek flowing parallel to the east bank of the Republican appears to be wrongly named. It is unquestionably the stream now known as Timber creek.

THE SECOND MAP.

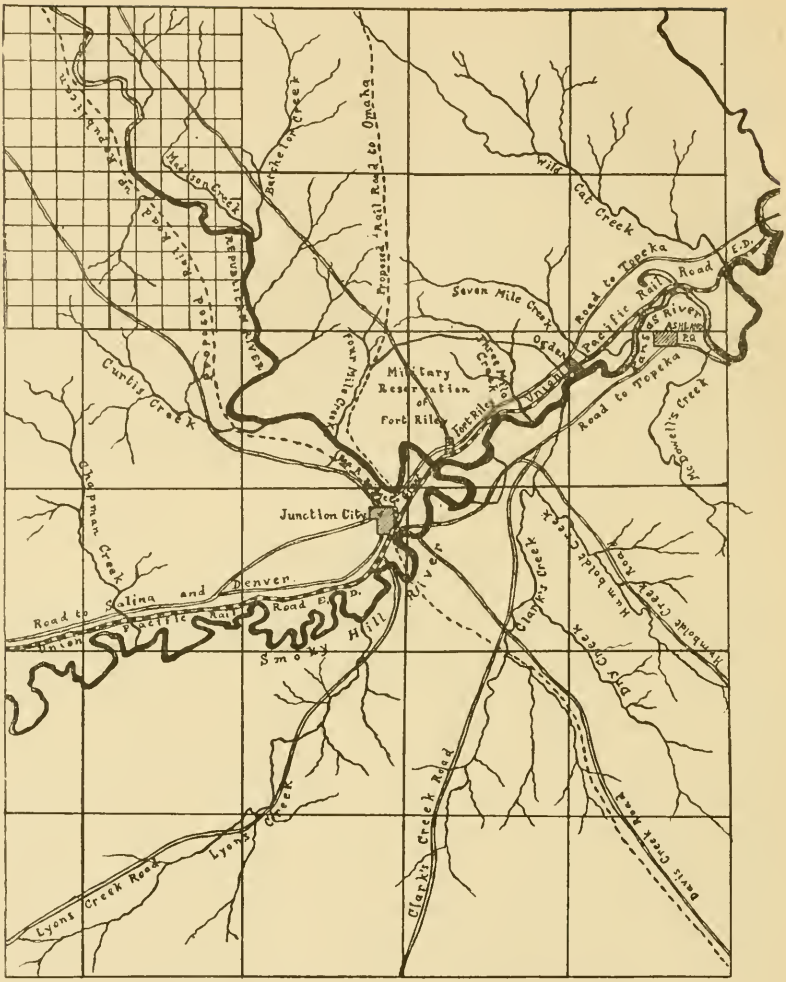
The second map (p. 23) owes its origin to matters of practical interest. When the settlers came the land was one continuous expanse of rolling prairie

---

Note 161.—An oak settle, once the property of the elder Mr. Keene, stands by the old-fashioned kitchen fireplace at Hock Pitt.

Note 162.—Most of the items of oral tradition were given me by my cousin, Geo. E. Lansdowne, Esq., J. P. C. C. of Over-Stowey; an account of the Rev. David Keene, D. D., written by his son and published in the *St. John's Observer*, Milwaukee, June, 1897, was furnished by the Rev. James Slidell, the present rector.

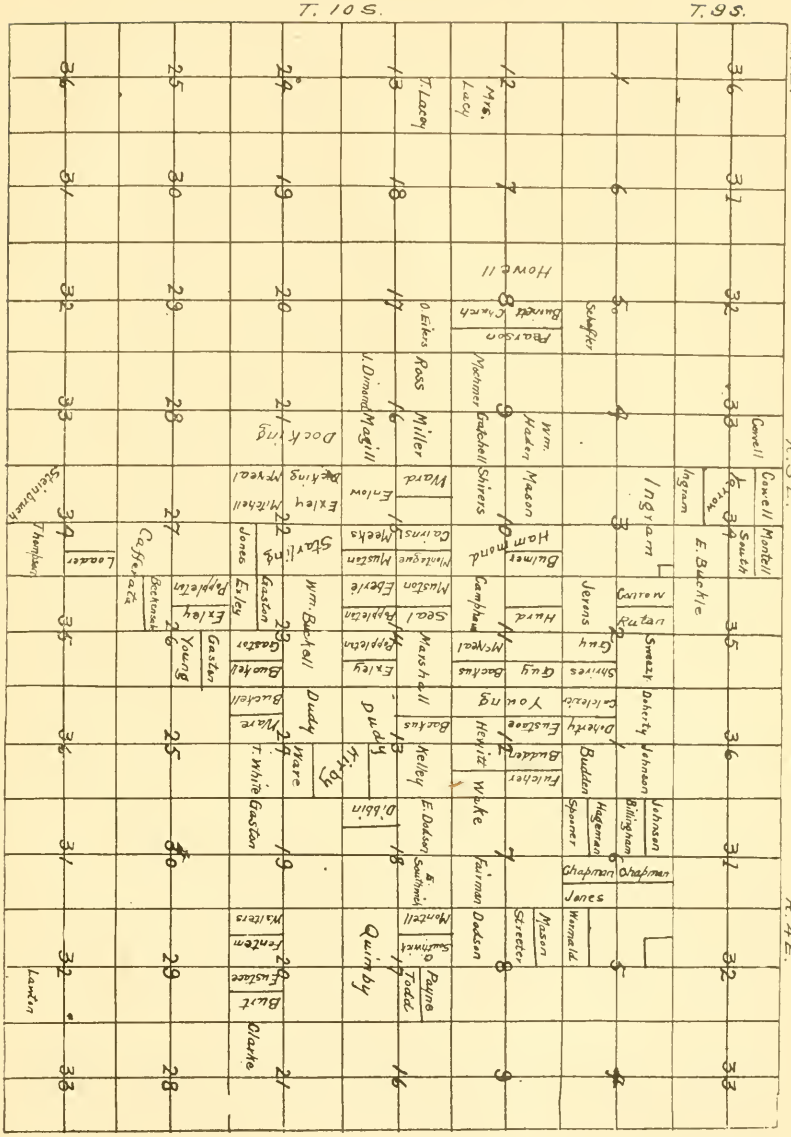
Note 163.—To those specified in the text we may add (3) a map of the district southwest of Wakefield, showing its occupants in the early eighties, and (4) a sketch-map of the Golden Ridge school district.



MAP OF JUNCTION CITY AND ADJACENT COUNTRY.

The first Marshall map, 1868.

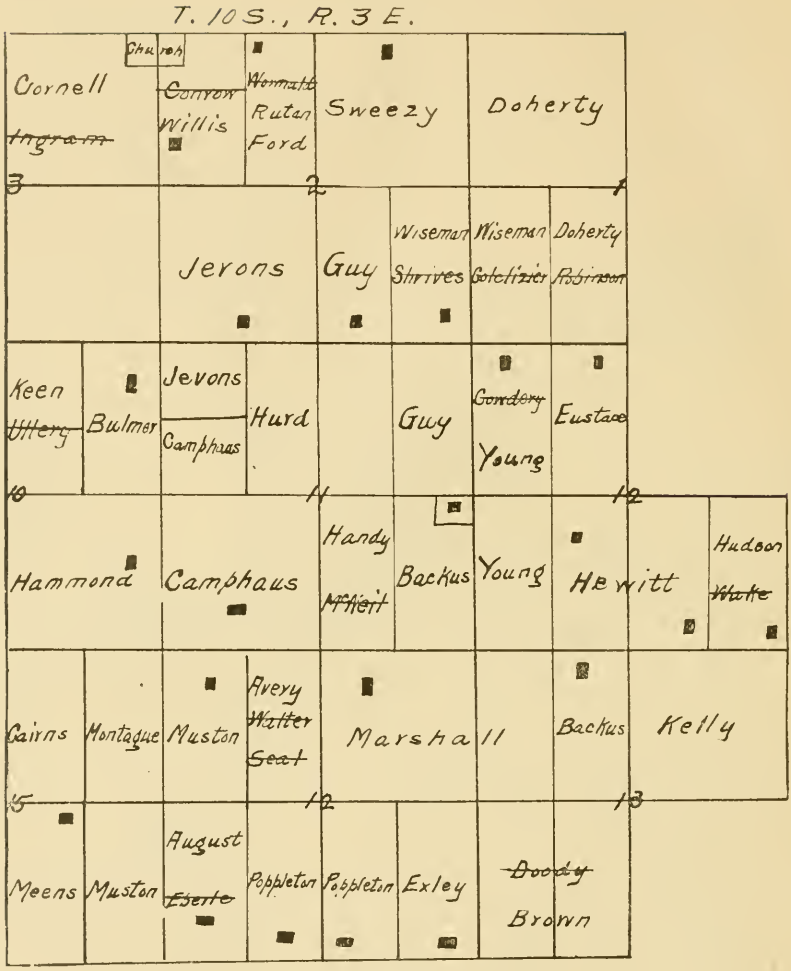
broken only by the timber that skirted the banks of the larger creeks. There were no fences or boundaries, and no striking peculiarities of surface. A section seemed to owe its very identity to the presence of settlers upon it. In view of this practical difficulty, Mr. J. P. Marshall made an outline chart of the township in which his claim was situated, and from time to time entered the names of those who settled upon it. The map was drawn with pen and ink upon a sheet of ruled note-paper, and measures 25.3 x 15.3 cm., or with the margin 25.5 x 19.8 cm. It is much yellowed with age. Although the map was drawn in 1874, supplementary entries were oc-



THIRD MARSHALL MAP.

casionally made during the three or four following years. A few explanatory remarks may be added in this connection:

1. The shaded portions of the map represent claims purchased of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company. This excluded homesteads, technically so called, as well as the farms of the earlier American settlers in the Quimby creek valley.



SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 96.
Revised April, 1887.

2. The dotted outline represents the boundary of the Golden Ridge school district.

3. The name (scarcely legible) on the SE¼ of sec. 17, twp. 10, range 4 east, is probably to be read "Purinton." The earliest entry on the N½ of SW¼ of sec. 10, in Gill township, may possibly be read "Winterbourne."

4. With regard to section 15 (Gill township) the evidence of the Marshall map has been called in question. The most likely solution is that which has been offered in the sixth section of this history. It is an explanation which must be accepted in the case of sections 11 and 31 in the same township. Here land was purchased by settlers that afterwards unquestionably reverted to the corporation to which it originally belonged.

A letter of recent date from Mr. Marshall contains so much interesting matter that I venture to cite it here, although a brief extract has been inserted in the body of the history:

"WAKEFIELD, September 30, 1906.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—I fully appreciate your desire to sift out the truth and 'hold fast that which is good.' Men's memories become somewhat hazy as to matters occurring over one-third of a century ago, and even written records may be in error, as boundaries were little known and less understood during the first few years of settlement.

"Mr. Quimby settled on the quarter-section of the place known as his. The other 240 acres he got from his brother Frank and a man named Robinson, both of whom went as soldiers during the civil war and never returned.

. . . . . .

"The '80' now owned by John Young was first settled by a man from Illinois, who built a sod house on the southeast corner. Jason Withers, I think, got it for a tree claim, and then my brother Arthur had it. When he left, I took it, selling it to the Young's shortly after. Jason Withers married Miss Cowdery and lived on the E½ of SW¼ of sec. 12. . . .

"The Buckle on section 26 was E. T. Buckle, who lived there before his marriage to Miss Young, after he traded places with James Young.

"I enclose some slips [maps, pp. 530, 531] covering some of the discussed points, and I think they will agree with my earlier map, except that some of the lines maybe run east and west instead of north and south. In the early days, with no roads or fences, it was difficult to tell which way the land lay.

"Hoping that these notes may be of use to you, I am, yours very truly,

JOHN P. MARSHALL."

APPENDIX III.—THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

In constructing the chronological table on page 53 I have selected chiefly those events that have a merely local character, or else such as connect the history of the Junction City district with the affairs of the state at large.

INDIAN TRAILS.

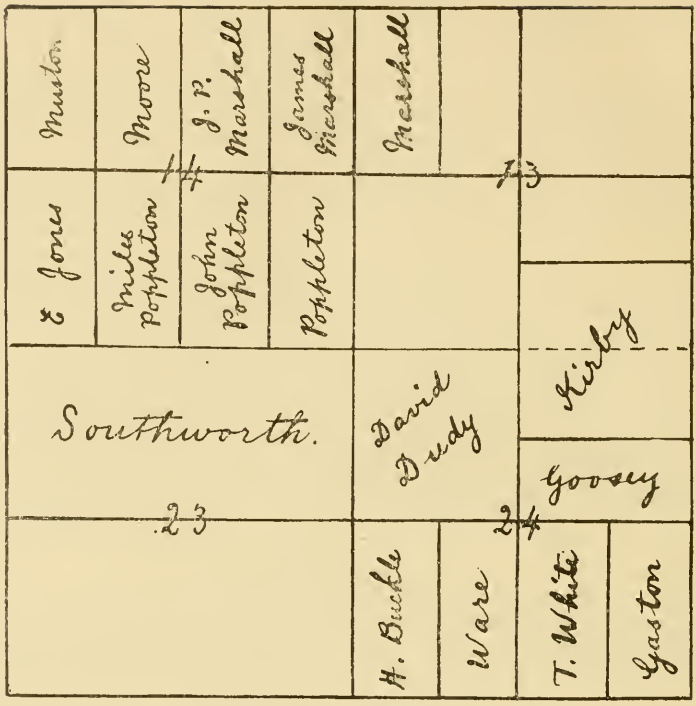
From very early times the Indian tribes carried on a primitive sort of commerce by means of trails or track-ways. At least two such trails intersected Kansas diagonally. One appears to have passed up the north side of the Kansas river and then to have crossed the watershed from some point below Ellsworth to the great bend of the Arkansas. Another led from the head waters of the Osage and the Neosho, crossing the trail previously mentioned near Great Bend, and then passing up the Arkansas to the mountains. The trail was continued by way of the Rio de las Animas and the Raton pass to the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte. These routes connected the Mississippi valley with New Mexico.[164]

HARAHEY AND QUIVIRA.

In the sixteenth century the country now known as Kansas was included in two regions called Harahey and Quivira. Harahey was the territory of the Pawnee Indians. It embraced western Kansas, but extended far beyond the borders of the state. Quivira lay for the most part between the Kansas and the Arkansas rivers. It was intersected by the trails previously mentioned. When Coronado conquered the settled races of New Mexico, in 1541, the natives lured him into the open plains of the interior, hoping thus to compass his destruction. On the march to Quivira the Span-

NOTE 164.—Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 5, 1889-'96: "Trails in Southern Kansas," by Hon. J. R. Mead, of Wichita, pp. 88-93.

Township 10, Range 3 east.



Sections 13 and 23, railroad land.

"This is the earliest settlement of the tract herein described. The W½ SW¼ Sec. 24 is where the Clinches lived—*J. P. Marshall.*"

Adjoining tract on opposite page.

ish invaders crossed the state diagonally and seem to have reached the Kansas river somewhere within the limits of the Junction City district.[165]

In the seventeenth century a band of the New Mexican natives revolted from the Spaniards and founded a settlement in Quivira. It was known to the Spaniards as Cuartelejo. In recent years the site has been identified and excavated.[166]

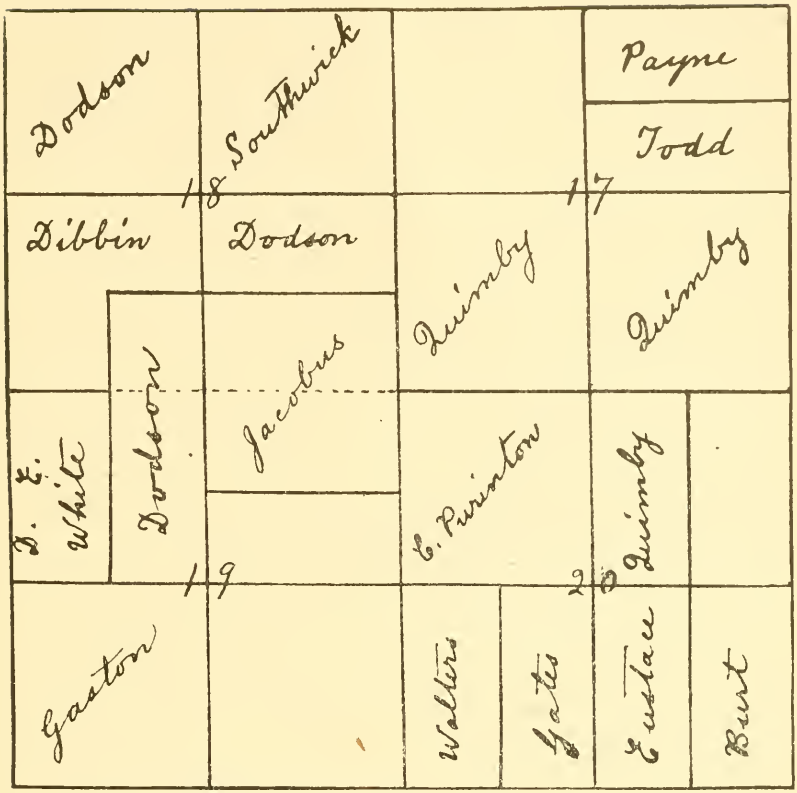
KANSAS A BORDER-LAND.

Some centuries before the Columbian discovery the Siouan Indians migrated westward from the region of the Appalachian mountains. At the time of the Spanish Conquest they had spread all over the more open regions of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys. To this race belonged the Dakotas on the north, and the Omahas, Kansas, and Wazhazhas (Osages) on the south. As the Siouan tribes pressed up the river valleys west of the

NOTE 165.—The original records of Coronado's expedition have been collected, edited and translated by Geo. W. Winship, in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1892-'93, part 1, pp. 339-598; he has likewise published the English translations separately under the title "The Journey of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, 1540-'42."

NOTE 166.—"Some Pueblo Ruins in Scott County, Kansas," by S. W. Williston and H. T. Martin, in the Kan. Hist. Coll., vol. 6, 1897-1900, pp. 124-130.

Township 10, Range 4 east.



Missouri they came in conflict with the warlike Pawnees and Wichitas. By the seventeenth century Kansas had already become the border-land of the Siouan and Caddoan races. Each of the important rivers—the Kansas, the Osage and the Arkansas—was the highway of an invading tribe. The Kansas tribe eventually occupied the entire Kaw valley. It will thus be seen that the state owes its name to invaders from Missouri. On Vaugondy's map (1750) the eastern part of the state already appears as "Pays des Cansés," "Land of the Kansas [Indians]"; and the Pawnees still retained possession of the central and western parts of Nebraska and the northern part of Kansas. Their villages were in the Platte and the Republican valleys.[167]

KANSAS THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE POSSESSIONS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN, 1705-1803.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century Kansas became the border-land between the colonial empires of France and Spain. The French made their first expedition to the mouth of the Kansas river in 1705. On September 27, 1719, M. Dutisne, a French officer, took formal possession of the Pawnee country in the name of France. The following year the Spaniards

NOTE 167.— Winsor, the Mississippi Basin, p. 205.

attempted to found a colony on the banks of the Missouri, but were massacred by the Indians. In 1722–'23 Fort Orleans, Mo., was founded by the French on an island near the mouth of the Osage river. The commandant, M. de Bourgmont, explored Kansas during the following year. "In 1725," says Spring, "Fort Orleans was captured by Kansas savages and the garrison slaughtered. Details are wholly unknown, as not a white man survived to tell the tale, and the stolid, close-mouthed Indian never broke silence. The massacre effectually blighted the enthusiasm of Frenchmen for explorations in Kansas."[168]

KANSAS COMES UNDER THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Kansas was included in the Louisiana purchase of 1803, and was explored by Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike in 1806. On September 29 of that year Pike caused the Spanish flag to be lowered and the United States flag to be raised at Pawnee Republic (a village of the Pawnee Indians from which the Republican river derives its name). This was 265 years after the invasion of Coronado and 81 years after the destruction of Fort Orleans.

In 1831–'32 the United States began to remove the Indians from the Old Northwest to reservations in Kansas. In 1843 the Wyandots came from Ohio and settled in eastern Kansas. They remained in the state about twelve years (1843–'55).

Kansas was opened for settlement on May 30, 1854, and after seven years of checkered territorial history became a state in 1861.

NOTE 168.— "Kansas" (in the Am. Commonwealth Series), by L. W. Spring, p. 20.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Public Affairs.	Local Events.	
	Timber Creek.	Madura (Wakefield).
1854, March 30. The Kansas-Nebraska bill.		
1854, October 7. Hon. Andrew H. Reeder, first governor of the territory of Kansas, arrives at Leavenworth.		
1855, July 2–6. Session of the territorial legislature at Pawnee. (Ruins of the capitol to be seen in the military reservation at Fort Riley.)		
	1856 (April). Moses, William and Jeremiah Younkin and John King settle on Timber creek (Grant township).	
		1857, (spring). Messrs. Quimby and Payne settle in Republican township.
		1858, (May). Rev. William Todd settles in Republican township.
	1858, December 2. Edwin Younkin born. (First child of American parentage in Grant township.)	
		1859, House on the Wakefield town site built by James Gilbert.
		1860, July 25. Geo. Kirby born. (First child of American parentage in Gill township.)
1861, January 30. Kansas admitted as a state.		
1866, (November). Lieut.-col. Geo. A. Custer assumes command at Fort Riley (till 1871).		
		1868, July 4. Madura schoolhouse opened.
1868, September 17. Battle of Arickaree (Beecher's island); decisive overthrow of the plains Indians.		
1868, (November). Hon. James M. Harvey, governor of Kansas. (Reelected 1870.)		
	1869, July 12. Messrs. Pierce and Wake inspect the land between Chapman creek and the Wakefield town site.	
		1869, August 12. H. S. Walter and P. Gillies settle in Republican township.
	1869, August 21. John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, R. T. Batchelor, and others, arrive in Junction City.	
		1869, August 21. The pioneer partly left England August 3, landed in New York on the 15th, and reached Junction City on the 21st.
	1869, August 25. Preliminary organization of the Kansas Land and Emigration Company ("incorporated August 25, 1869").	
	1869, August 26. The town site of Wakefield laid out by Richard Wake, John Wormald, Alexander Maitland, and Col. John S. Loomis.	
		1869, September 15. The "Nebraska party" sails from Liverpool, landing in New York on the 29th, and arrived in Junction City October 6.
	1869, October 12. Meeting of the stockholders at the Hale House, Junction City.	
	1870, January 16. A severe blizzard occasions much suffering.	
		1870, April 6. The Alsop party sailed from Liverpool. On the 25th they are met at Junction City by Rev. Richard Wake.
	1870, (April). The opening of the company's store celebrated April 15.	
	1870, May 8. Methodist Episcopal church organized.	
	1870, May 30. The Wakefield Ferry and Bridge Company incorporated.	
	1870, (summer). Drought and failure of crops.	
	1871, January 25–March 8. Sessions of the Wakefield Agricultural and Literary Society recorded in the Wakefield *Herald*, vol. I, No. 3.	
	1871, (spring). Services of the Episcopal church first held at the home of Mrs. Pearson, in Gill township.	
	1871, March 8. J. B. Quimby delivers an address before the society on "How to Begin a Farm."	
	1871, (spring). Organization of the monthly market.	
		1871, April 5. The Sparrowhawk party leaves England.
	1872, (July). St. John's Episcopal church destroyed by a tornado.	
1872, Hon. Thomas A. Osborn governor of Kansas (reelected, 1874).		
	1873, May 16. "George Grant imports stock for a 60,000-acre farm at Victoria, Ellis county."—*Wilder's Annals.*	
	1874, Kansas devastated by grasshoppers.	
	1874, October 14. Vestry meeting of St. John's parish held at the residence of Dr. Chas. Hewitt.	
	1876, (April). St. John's church dedicated.	
1876, June 25. Battle of Little Big Horn river (Montana). Felix James Pitters, a Wakefield colonist, among the slain.		

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 016 088 457 5